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The Sun-Worshipping Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.  
An Analysis of Their History and Customs from Ancient Times to the Present

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

*Note that ra- and ṛa- are very different; the first corresponds to र, the second to रः.*

· = the dot on the top of the vowels stands for the nasalization of them in Hindī.

Av.: Avestan

Bh.: *Bhavisya-purāna*

clos.: closing

Hin.: Hindī

MP: Middle Persian

MW: Monier Monier-Williams' *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*

NP: New Persian

n. r.: not recorded

OldIr.: Old Iranian

Pah.: Pahlavi

Pers.: Persian

Prākr.: Prākrit

RORI: Rajasthān Oriental Research Institute

Skr.: Sanskrit

SP: *Sāmba-purāna*

VB: Vetaswankara Press edition of the *Bhavisya-purāna*

W.: A.F. Weber's manuscript of the *Magavyakti*

**N.B.:** The spelling of the various names is not discriminatory. Due to the fact that various ancient and modern languages are involved, and that spoken language is a component of the present work, names and Sanskrit/Hindī terms can have different spellings according to the context.



[...] the saga of Indian Sun-priests is full of romance, significance and mythical ecstasy.

SRIVASTAVA 1996: 53

## Introduction

The Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas have been the subject of many studies since the second half of the nineteenth century. Eminent scholars from all over the world have dealt with the translation of Sanskrit texts regarding their legends, trying to explain their origin and their very unusual religious cult. Each effort has been fundamental to enriching our knowledge about this social group. In spite of the important work of these scholars—particularly that of H. von Stietencron, who in 1966 published an excellent monograph on the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in which he collected, edited and translated some sections from the *Sāmba-* and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*—a complete and updated compendium, exhaustive from a philological, historical and religious point of view, has not yet appeared.

In brief, the legend contained in the Purāṇic sections recounts that Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba, having been cursed by his father, contracted leprosy, but was healed by the sun god through his worship of and devotion to him. Sāmba then found a statue of the sun and installed it in a temple; but there were no Brāhmaṇas in India who could properly worship the god. On the sun god's advice, Sāmba flew to Śākadvīpa (identified with the Iranian lands) on Garuḍa, and brought back to India 18 families of Maga (Śākadvīpīya) Brāhmaṇas to worship the sun's idol. From that moment on, the Magas, and the Bhojakas, also mentioned in the Purāṇic texts, have been considered the most expert Brāhmaṇas with respect to the sun cult.

This is the first step. However, the obstacles to undertaking a broad study on the Śākadvīpīyas are several: first, the original material is very scarce, and the sources are limited to some Purāṇic sections, three late poems and some references found in other works (Varāhamihira, Buddhist sources, epigraphy etc.). Second, the materials we have are not exhaustive and often in contradiction one another; they were composed over centuries and probably in different locations.

From a linguistic point of view, many scholars have pointed to the influence of Iranian languages on sections from *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, especially with regard to loanwords. Curiously, nobody has investigated the historical importance of the fact that, even if we cannot

establish *a priori* the origin of these loanwords from one Iranian language or another, is undeniable that they belong to different strata of Iranian linguistic history.

The content of these texts has to be analysed more broadly as well: in the last two centuries, speculations on the religious-cultural context have sometimes been reduced to an analysis of their cultural practices and customs, other times to an investigation of the origins of this group, but in any event focusing time after time only on one single aspect.

An update of the previous studies of this group is necessary; new research now allows us to formulate a more accurate analysis than in the past, both in terms of linguistics and onomastics. A broader overview is essential to re-examining the problem from a new perspective, and to exploring the correlation between the linguistic evidence and the contents of the materials we have. A study of the historical context is fundamental as well. The continuous exchange of cultural knowledge and practices in Central Asia in the first centuries A.D. draws a picture of the dynamic between the two areas of influence, Iranian and Indian. This data is iconographical, religious and linguistic, and mutually influenced each aspect of everyday life, underlying the importance of the boundary dialogue.

The aim of this research is to present a broad and comprehensive study on the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, and to examine all the religious, historical and linguistic evidence related to them. This exposes the first limitation of the present work: in trying to be as exhaustive as possible, the research could possibly turn out desultory and not completely cohesive. Each topic deals with the necessity of understanding the context of Śākdvīpīya culture, and all of the topics discussed are ultimately interconnected and contribute to forming a picture of the problem.

Second, I started my research on the Śākdvīpīyas a long time ago, and much fundamental information is presented in my M.A. thesis, *I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano*, as well as some forthcoming articles. Extensive translations from the pertinent sections of the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* appeared in my thesis; I have found it redundant to include those passages again in the present work. When necessary, I have directly quoted the Purāṇic verses in order to provide the appropriate sources and contextualize the topic discussed.

Another important point to stress is the fact that the names Śākdvīpīya, Maga and Bhojaka are almost synonymous. According to the context, i.e. the sources have ‘Magas’ rather than ‘Śākdvīpīyas’, I have adopted the name used in the sources in that particular section. In addition, even the spelling of the different names varies according to the language (Sanskrit or Hindī) and context. Purāṇic texts mention Magas and Bhojakas; the *Magavyakti* includes the names of the Magas; later texts and modern communities talk about Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas; epigraphic evidence contains all the appellatives. Nowadays the Śākdvīpīyas have adopted different

surnames, including *Mag* and *Bhojak*, and they have told me explicitly that there is no real difference between these names. Probably, depending on the period in history, and maybe also on their geographical region, they were known by different names. In my opinion, ‘Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas’ is the general category, which subsumes all the sub-divisions to Magas, Bhojakas, Sevaks, etc. ‘Śākdvīpīya’ is clearly the most general name, because it refers to all the people coming from Śakdvīpa whom Sāmba brought to India to worship the sun god.

One major challenge has been presented by the different methodologies I had to adopt in my research. I had to apply different methodological approaches to the different types of analysis; in particular, I’ve employed the philological method in the first and second chapters, an onomastic analysis has been in the third chapter, and I have done my best to propose an ethnographic study in the fifth chapter.

Finally, the most important limitation is probably the linguistic one: research on Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas requires knowledge of Sanskrit and ancient Iranian languages, plus familiarity with Middle Indian and Iranian languages; a basic understanding of Hindī and Fārsī is useful as well. Moreover, my *lingua franca* in interacting with people and conveying my ideas has been English, which is not my mother tongue. For this reason, and for many others, I have to thank all the numerous people who contributed to my research, helping me in this exciting, multi-faceted experience.



# 1. The Purānic Sections

*yatra sāmbaṁ puraskṛtya bhaviṣye 'pi kathānakam /  
procye tat punar loke sāmbaṁ etan munivrataḥ //<sup>1</sup>*

The analysis of the Purānic texts, in particular the sections from the *Sāmba-* and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, is fundamental to gathering some information about the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas.

The dating of the two works has been discussed in a number of publications,<sup>2</sup> and it is evident that the *Sāmba-purāṇa* has many passages in common with the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. Specifically, the latter has drawn passages from the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (cf. HAZRA 1955: 73 ff.), and from this we can deduce the chronology of the contents of these two works. Many chapters and passages of the *Sāmba-* are common to the *Brahma-* and the *Skanda-purāṇas*, too. In his study, HAZRA (1952: 99) states that the *Brahma-purāṇa* generally agrees much more with *Sāmba-* than with *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, so the *Sāmba-* must also have been the original source for the *Brahma-purāṇa*, and in general for the Purānic literature about sun worship. Moreover, the *Varāha-purāṇa* (ch. 177) refers to the fact that the *Sāmba-* ‘made the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* as new’,<sup>3</sup> indicating that originally the *Bhaviṣya-* had no *Sāmba-* episodes in it, but that they were added later on. Probably, some passages of the *Sāmba-* were embellished with verses from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira and then inserted in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. In fact, we find verses from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* in the *Bhaviṣya-*, but not a single line of the *Sāmba-* is present in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Therefore, we must assume that those verses were intermingled in order to enrich the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. In turn, the latter has some chapters (especially I. 72–73–78) which are very similar in content to *Skanda-purāṇa* VII. i. 100–101. Moreover, SRIVASTAVA (1996: 6) assumes that the first part of the *Sāmba-* was composed in Panjab, whereas the second took its form in Orissa; of these two sections, the first one is completely incorporated into the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, but not a single *śloka* of the second part is present there. Finally, the *Sāmba-purāṇa* figures in all the lists of *Upa-purāṇas*, without exception; its constant presence testifies to the antiquity and popularity of this text.

Therefore, it is clear how the Purānic materials are rich with interpolations, the mutual exchanges of entire sections and, for these reasons, very difficult to date. SRIVASTAVA (2013:

<sup>1</sup> HAZRA 1952: 91 quotes *Matsya-purāṇa* 53.61 = *Skanda.purāṇa*: VII. i. 2. 82.

<sup>2</sup> HAZRA 1938; 1939-40; 1958; SRIVASTAVA 1996; 2013. The discussion about the dating of the two Purāṇas has been detailed extensively in my M.A. thesis *IMaga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano*.

<sup>3</sup> See SRIVASTAVA 2013: x.

ix) makes the interesting observation that the *Sāmba-purāṇa*, as one of the Upa-purāṇas, “being less popular, absorbed lesser developments and hence lesser interpolations”. For this reason, it has probably preserved its original form better, and we have a consistent ancient section of the original work, even if some clearly Tantric lines are present throughout the *Purāṇa*. From this perspective, the Upa-purāṇas deserve even more importance than the Mahā-purāṇas. For this reason, SRIVASTAVA (1996: 2) rejects the notion that ‘*Upa-*’ was used with the meaning of low or contemptible, but rather conveyed a sense of ‘nearness’.

In 1966 H. von Stietencron published an anthology of Purāṇic passages (from the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*) related to the Śākadvipīya Brāhmaṇas; the following Sankrit texts are drawn from von Stietencron’s edition.

List of von STIETENCRON’s manuscripts:

**Sāmba-purāṇa:**

- S.I: *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1899.
- S.II: *Sāmba Purāṇa Ms.*, India Office Library, No.3619.

**Bhaviṣya-purāṇa:**

- Bh.: *Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa*, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1959.
- Bh. 1897: *Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa*, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1987.
- AUFRECHT: T. Aufrecht, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa Manuscript, in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Postvedicorum Quotquot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana Adversantur*, Oxford, 1895, Pars I, pp. 30–33.

Another important source is SRIVASTAVA’s edition of the *Sāmba-Purāṇa* (2013). He used the following manuscripts:

- India Office London Library, manuscripts 3619, 3620 (J. Eggeling’s Catalogue)
- Asiatic Society, Bengal Library, manuscripts 4091, 4092, 4093, 4094 (Pt. Har Prasad Shastri, Asiatic Society Catalogue Vol. V. Calcutta, 1928)
- Sarasvatī Mahal Library of Tanjore Maharājā Sarfoji, manuscript 10984 (P.P.S Sastri’s catalogue) or 1630 (Burnell’s catalogue).
- India Office Library, manuscript 6836 (A.B. Keith) in Grantha script.
- Library of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, manuscript 214 (Shastri and Gui catalogue)
- Sanskrit College, Benares (description in Gopinatha Kavirājā’s catalogue)
- Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, Bombay, 1899.

The opportunity to compare the two editions (at least for the *Sāmba-purāṇa*) has improved the chances of obtaining a correct and comprehensible Sanskrit text.

## 1.1 The Sanskrit Text

A substantial part of the compared sections edited by von STIETENCRON (1966) was translated into Italian for my M.A. thesis (*I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano*). In order to complete my translation and the analysis of the Purāṇic passages, the second half is presented and translated into English here.<sup>4</sup>

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 72

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

śṛṅuṣvāvahito rājāṁś tasya tacchāpākāraṇam<sup>5</sup> / 9a

durvāsā nāma bhagavān  
rudrasyāṁśasamudbhavah // 14  
aṭamānah sa bhagavāṁś  
trīl lokān pracacāra ha /  
atha prāpto dvāravatīṁ  
madhusaṁjñocitāṁ purā // 15  
tam āgatam ḥśim dr̥ṣṭvā  
sāṁbo rūpena garvitah /  
piṁgākṣam kṣudhitāṁ rūkṣam  
virūpāṁ sukṛśam tathā // 16  
anukārāspadāṁ cakre  
darśane gamane tathā /  
dr̥ṣṭvā tasya mukham sāṁbo  
vakram<sup>7</sup> cakre tathātmanah // 17

<sup>4</sup> For the *Sāmba-purāṇa*, I have compared von STIETENCRON's edition with SRIVASTAVA 2013; for the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, I have compared STIETENCRON with the Venkteswara Press edition of the *Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa* (VB), Mumbai, 1917.

<sup>5</sup> Bh: yacchāpākāraṇam

<sup>6</sup> Var.: jatīlam

<sup>7</sup> Vakra

mukhaṁ kurukulaśreṣṭha  
 garvito yauvanena tu /  
 atha kruddho mahātejā  
 durvāsā ḥśisattamah // 18  
 sāṁbam covāca bhagavān  
 vidhunvan mukham ātmanah /  
 yasmād virūpam mām dṛṣṭvā  
 svātmarūpeṇa garvitaḥ // 19  
 gamane darśane mahyam  
 anukāram samācaraḥ /  
 tasmāt tu kuṣṭharogitvam  
 acirāt tvam gamiṣyati //20

### Bh. I. 66

sāṁba uvāca

.....

mohān mayopahasito  
 durvāsāḥ kopito<sup>8</sup> muniḥ /  
 tato 'ham tasya śāpena  
 mahākuṣṭham<sup>9</sup> avāptavān // 30  
 tato 'ham pitaram gatvā  
 kuṣṭharogābhipīḍitah<sup>10</sup> /  
 lajjamāno 'tigarveṇa  
 idam vākyam athābruvam<sup>11</sup> // 31  
 tāta sīdati me gātram  
 svaraś ca parihīyate /  
 ghorarūpo mahāvyādhir  
 vapur eṣa jighāṁsatī // 32  
 aśeṣavyādhirājñāham

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<sup>8</sup> VB: kopano

<sup>9</sup> VB: mahākuṣṭham

<sup>10</sup> VB: kusthayogā-

<sup>11</sup> VB: athābravam

pīḍitah krūrakarmaṇā /  
 vaidyair oṣadhibhiś caiva  
 na śāṁtir mama vidyate // 33  
 so 'ham tvayā hy anujñātas  
 tyaktum icchāmi jīvitam /  
 yadi vāham anugrāhyas  
 tato 'nujñātum arhasi // 34  
 ityuktavākyah sa pitā  
 putraśokābhipīḍitah /  
 pitā kṣaṇam tato dhyātvā  
 mām evam vākyam uktavān // 35  
 dhairyam āśrayatām putra  
 mā śoke ca manahkṛtah /  
 hamti śokārditam vyādhiḥ  
 śuṣkam tṛṇam ivānalaḥ // 36  
 devatārādhanaparo  
 bhava putraka mā śucah /  
 ity ukte ca mayā prokto  
 devam ārādhayāmi kam // 37  
 kam ārādhya vimucye 'ham  
 tāta rogaiḥ samamtaḥ / 38a  
 .....

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 73

sāṁbena punar apy evam durvāsāḥ kopito munih /<sup>12</sup>  
 bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaraṇena vai // 51<sup>13</sup>  
 prāptavān sumahac chāpam sāṁbo vai manujottamah //  
 tacchāpān musalam jātam kulaṁ yenāsyā pātitam<sup>14</sup> // 52<sup>15</sup>–44<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> VB: 44a

<sup>13</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: line 52

<sup>14</sup> Bh: ghātitam

<sup>15</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: line 53

<sup>16</sup> VB: 44b

## STAVARĀJA

SP. 25 / Bh. I. 128

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

stuvamṣ tatra<sup>17</sup> tataḥ sāṃbah kṛśo dhamanisaṃtataḥ /  
rājan nāmasahasareṇa sahasrāṃśum divākaram // 1 – 1  
khidyamānaṃ tu tam<sup>18</sup> dṛṣṭvā sūryah kṛṣṇātmajam tadā /  
svapne 'smai<sup>19</sup> darśanam dattvā punar vacanam abravīt // 2 – 2

sūrya uvāca

śrīsūrya uvāca

sāṃba sāṃba mahābāho śṛṇu jāmbavatīsuta /  
alam nāmasahasreṇa paṭhasvemam stavam śubham<sup>20</sup> // 3 – 3  
yāni nāmāni guhyāni<sup>21</sup> pavitrāṇi śubhāni ca /  
tāni te kīrtayiṣyāmi śrutvā tvam avadhāraya<sup>22</sup> // 4 – 4  
(om) vikartano<sup>23</sup> vivasvāmś ca mārtando<sup>24</sup> bhāskaro raviḥ /  
lokaprakāśakah śrīmāl lokacakṣur graheśvarah // 5 – 5  
lokasākṣī trilokeśah kartā hartā tamisrahā /  
tapanas tāpanaś caiva śuciḥ saptāśvavāhanah // 6 – 6  
gabhaṣṭihasto brahmā ca sarvadevanamaskṛtaḥ /  
ekavimśatir ity eṣa stava iṣṭaḥ sadā mama // 7 – 7  
śarīrārogadyaś caiva dhanavṛddhiyaśaskaraḥ /  
stavarāja iti khyātas triṣu lokeṣu viśrutaḥ // 8 – 8  
ya etena mahābāho dve saṃdhye 'stamanodaye /  
stauti mām praṇato bhūtvā sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate // 9 – 9  
kāyikam vācikam cāpi<sup>25</sup> mānasam<sup>26</sup> yac ca duṣkṛtam /

<sup>17</sup> Bh: astāvīc ca

<sup>18</sup> Bh: tato

<sup>19</sup> SI, SII: tu; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tu; VB: svapnesya

<sup>20</sup> SI: paṭhaṃs tv evam; SII: paṭhasvomam; SS: paṭhasvemam; Bh: paṭha cemam śubham stavam

<sup>21</sup> VB: guhyāni nāmāni

<sup>22</sup> SS, SII: śrutvā vatsāvadhāraya; Bh: prayatnād avadhāraya

<sup>23</sup> Bh: vaikartano

<sup>24</sup> STIETENCRON 1966: mārtamdo

<sup>25</sup> SII, SS: caiva; Bh: vāpi

<sup>26</sup> Bh: mānasam vācikam...kāyikam

tat sarvam ekajāpyena<sup>27</sup> praṇāsyati mamāgrataḥ // 10 – 10  
 eṣa jāpyaś ca homaś ca saṃdhyopāsanam<sup>28</sup> eva ca /  
 balimantro<sup>29</sup> 'rghyamantraś<sup>30</sup> ca dhūpamāṃtras tathaiva ca // 11 – 11  
 annapradāne snāne ca praṇipāte pradakṣiṇe /  
 pūjito 'yam mahāmāṃtraḥ sarvavyādhiharaḥ<sup>31</sup> śubhaḥ // 12 – 12  
 evam uktvā tu<sup>32</sup> bhagavān bhāskaro jagadīśvaraḥ<sup>33</sup> /  
 āmāṃtrya kṛṣṇatanayam tatraivāṃtaradhiyata<sup>34</sup> // 13 – 13  
 sāṃbo 'pi stavarājena stutvā saptāśvavāhanam /  
 pūtātmā<sup>35</sup> nīrujaḥ śrīmāṃs tasmād rogād vimuktavān // 14 – 14

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## VIŚVAKARMAN

SP. 11 / Bh. I. 79

.....

viśvakarmovāca

tavātitejasāviṣṭam <sup>36</sup> idam rūpam suduḥsaham / <sup>37</sup>	
asahanti tu sā samjñā vane vasati <sup>38</sup> śādvale // 36 – 47	
drakṣyate <sup>39</sup> tām bhavān adya svām bhāryām śubhacāriṇīm / <sup>40</sup>	
rūpārtham bhavato 'raṇye caramtīm <sup>41</sup> sumahat tapaḥ // 37 – 48	
mataṃ me brahmaṇo vākyam	rūpam te brahmaṇo vākyād
yadi te deva rocate /	yadi vai rocate vibho / <sup>42</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Bh: ekajāpyena tat sarvam

<sup>28</sup> SII: maṃtropāsanam

<sup>29</sup> STIETENCRON 1996: balimamtro

<sup>30</sup> STIETENCRON 1966: 'rghyamantraś; SI, SII: 'rghamantraś ca; Bh: 'rghyamamtro 'tha

<sup>31</sup> SII, Bh: sarvapāpaharaḥ

<sup>32</sup> VB: sa

<sup>33</sup> Bh: jagatām patiḥ

<sup>34</sup> Bh: tatraivāṃtarhito'bhavat

<sup>35</sup> SII: punyātmā; Bh: prītātmā

<sup>36</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: tavātitejasāssivāṣṭam idam

<sup>37</sup> VB: 47

<sup>38</sup> Bh: carati; VB: asahanti tu samjñā ca vane

<sup>39</sup> SI: drakṣyase SRIVASTAVA 2013: drakṣyase

<sup>40</sup> VB: 48

<sup>41</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: caramtī

<sup>42</sup> VB: 49

nirvartayāmy adya  
 tava kāṁtam arīḍama // 38  
 (rūpam vivasvataś cāśīt  
 tiryag ūrdhvam adhah samam /  
 tenāpi<sup>43</sup> pīḍito devo  
 rūpeṇa tu divaspatih<sup>44</sup> // 39)  
 samtuṣṭas tasya tad vākyam bahu mene mahātapāḥ /<sup>45</sup>  
 tato 'nvajānat tvaṣṭāram rūpanirvartanāya tu<sup>46</sup> // 40 – 50  
 viśvakarmābhyanujñātaḥ<sup>47</sup> śākadvīpe vivasvataḥ /<sup>48</sup>  
 bhramin<sup>49</sup> āropya tat tejaḥ śātayāmāsa<sup>50</sup> tasya vai // 41 – 51  
 ājānu<sup>51</sup> likhitaś cāsau nīpuṇam viśvakarmaṇā /<sup>52</sup>  
 nābhyanandat tal likhanam<sup>53</sup> tatas tenāvatāritah<sup>54</sup> // 42 – 52  
 tat tu niśpāditam rūpam  
 tejasāpahṛtena tu /  
 kāṁtāt kāṁtataram bhūtvā adhikam<sup>55</sup> śuśubhe tataḥ // 43 – 53  
 dadarśa yogam āsthāya svāṁ bhāryāṁ vaḍavāṁ tadaḥ<sup>56/57</sup>  
 adhṛṣyām<sup>58</sup> sarvabhūtānāṁ tejasā svena samvṛtām // 44 – 54  
 aśvarūpeṇa mārtamḍas tām mukhe samabhāvayat<sup>59/60</sup>  
 maithunāya viceṣṭantī<sup>61</sup> parapumso viśamkayā // 45  
 sā tadvivasvataḥ<sup>62</sup> śukram nāsikābhyām nirāvamat<sup>63</sup> /<sup>64</sup>  
 tatra tad bhāsitaṁ rūpam  
 tejasā prakṛtena tu /

<sup>43</sup> SII: tenāti

<sup>44</sup> SI: te divaspateḥ

<sup>45</sup> VB: 50

<sup>46</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: anujñātas tatas tvaṣṭā rūpanivartanasya tu; SII: ...nirvartya tasya tu

<sup>47</sup> Bh: viśvakarmā hy anujñātaḥ

<sup>48</sup> VB: 51

<sup>49</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhramim

<sup>50</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: śāṁtayāmāsa

<sup>51</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ājñayā

<sup>52</sup> VB: 52

<sup>53</sup> Bh: lekhanam nābhyanamdat tu; VB: tu likhanam

<sup>54</sup> Bh: tena vivāritaḥ; VB: tena nivāritaḥ

<sup>55</sup> Caesura samḍhi; SRIVASTAVA 2013: hyadhikam

<sup>56</sup> Bh: tathā

<sup>57</sup> VB: 54

<sup>58</sup> Bh: adṛṣyām

<sup>59</sup> VB: nasamāsadāt

<sup>60</sup> VB: 55

<sup>61</sup> VB: viceṣṭantī

<sup>62</sup> VB: tam vivasvataḥ

<sup>63</sup> VB: nāsābhyām samadhārayat

<sup>64</sup> VB: 56

devau tasyāmajāyetām aśvinau bhiṣajāṁ varau // 46<sup>65</sup>

.....

SP. 12 / Bh. I. 121

sāṁba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

śarīralikhanam<sup>66</sup> bhanor uktam̄ samkṣepatas tvayā /  
vistarāc chrotum icchāmi tan mamācakṣva suvrata // 1 – 1

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

pitur gṛham̄ gatāyāṁ tu<sup>67</sup> samjñāyāṁ yadunaṁdana<sup>68</sup> /  
bhāskaraś ciṁtayāmāsa samjñā madrūpakāṁkṣinī<sup>69</sup> // 2 – 2  
yātā pitur gṛham̄ yac ca  
tapas tepe yaśasvinī /  
tasmān maniṣitam̄ tasyāḥ  
pūrayāmi manoratham // 3  
etasminn amṛtare brahmā tatrāgatya divākaram /  
ūce madhurayā vācā abravīn madhurāṁ vācāṁ  
raveḥ prītikaram vacaḥ // 4 raveḥ prītikarāṁ śubhāṁ // 3  
ādidevo 'si devānāṁ vyāptam etat tvayā jagat<sup>70</sup> /  
śvaśuro viśvakarmā te rūpam̄ nirvartayiṣyati // 5 – 4  
evam uktvā ravīm brahmā viśvakarmānam<sup>71</sup> abravīt /  
nirvartayāya rūpam̄ tvāṁ mārtamḍasya tu śobhanam<sup>72</sup> // 6 – 5  
tato brahmasamādeśād bhramim<sup>73</sup> āropya bhāskaram /  
rūpam̄ nirvartayāmāsa viśvakarmā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ // 7 – 6

<sup>65</sup> Not present in von STIETENCRON 1966. Cf. SRIVASTAVA 2013.

<sup>66</sup> Bh: -lekhanam

<sup>67</sup> Bh: tu yātāyāṁ

<sup>68</sup> Bh: kurunaṁdana; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yadunandana

<sup>69</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: madrūpakāṁkṣinī; VB: -kārinī

<sup>70</sup> SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: jñātam etat svayaṁ mayā

<sup>71</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: viśvakarmānam

<sup>72</sup> Bh: nirvartasva mārtandam svarūpam tat suśobhanam; VB: pravartasvatvam ...

<sup>73</sup> SI: dhamin; Bh: bhūmim

tatas tuṣṭāva tam brahmā sarvair devagaṇaiḥ<sup>74</sup> saha /  
guhyair nānāvidhaiḥ stotrair vedavedāṅgasammitaiḥ<sup>75</sup> // 8 – 7

76

SP. 14 / Bh. I. 123

sāmba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

bhūyo 'pi kathayasvemāṁ<sup>77</sup> kathāṁ sūryasamāśritām /  
na tr̄ptim adhigacchāmi kathāṁ śṛṇvann imāṁ śubhāṁ<sup>78</sup> // 1 – 1

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

ādityasya<sup>79</sup> kathāṁ divyāṁ<sup>80</sup> sarvapāpapraṇāśinīm /  
vakṣyāmi kathitāṁ pūrvam̄ brahmaṇā lokabhāvinā<sup>81</sup> // 2 – 2  
ṛṣyah pariप्रccham̄ti brahma-loke pitāmaham /  
tāpitāḥ sūryakiraṇais tejasā sampramohitāḥ<sup>82</sup> // 3 – 3

r̄saya ūcuḥ

ko 'yam dīpto mahātejā vahniraśmisamaprabhaḥ<sup>83</sup> /  
etad veditum icchāmah prabhavo<sup>84</sup> 'sya kutah prabho // 4 – 4

brahmovāca

tamobhūteṣu sarveṣu<sup>85</sup> naṣṭe sthāvarajamṛgame /  
pravr̥tte gunahetutve pūrvam buddhir ajāyata // 5 – 5

74 Bh: sarva-

<sup>75</sup> VB: -gapāragajh

<sup>76</sup> This narration continues in Bh. I. 123.

<sup>77</sup> SJ, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kathaya tvam mām

<sup>78</sup> Bh: śrnyann etām kathām mune

<sup>79</sup> Bh: bhāskarasya

<sup>80</sup> Bh: punyam

<sup>81</sup> Bh. pūṇyāṇī

<sup>82</sup> SJ SRIVASTAVA 2013: -r rsayo iñānamohitāḥ

<sup>83</sup> Bh: havīrāśisama: VB: -śisamanprabhah

<sup>84</sup> Bh: *prahāyo*

<sup>85</sup> SJ SRIVASTAVA 2013: tato bhūtesu; Bh: tamobhūtesu lokesu

ahamkāras tato jāto mahābhūtapravartakah /  
 vāyvagnijalakham<sup>86</sup> bhūmis tatas tv aṇḍam ajāyata // 6 – 6  
 tasmiṁs tv<sup>87</sup> aṇḍa<sup>88</sup> ime lokāḥ sapta vai sampratiṣṭhitāḥ /  
 pr̥thivī<sup>89</sup> saptabhir dvīpaiḥ<sup>90</sup> samudraiś caiva<sup>91</sup> saptabhiḥ // 7 – 7  
 tatra cāvasthitā hy āsann<sup>92</sup> aham viṣṇur maheśvaraḥ /  
 vimūḍhāś tapasā<sup>93</sup> sarve pradhyāyann īśvaram param<sup>94</sup> // 8 – 8  
 tato 'cintyam̄ mahat tejah<sup>95</sup> prādurbhūtaṁ tamonudam /  
 dhyānayogena cāsmābhir vijñātah savitā<sup>96</sup> tada<sup>97</sup> // 9 – 9  
 jñātvā ca paramātmānaṁ sarva eva pṛthak pṛthak /  
 divyābhiḥ stutibhir<sup>98</sup> devās tam̄ stotum<sup>99</sup> upacakramuḥ // 10 – 10  
 ādidevo 'si devānām īśvarāṇām<sup>100</sup> tvam īśvarah /  
 ādikartāśi bhūtānām devadevo divākara<sup>101</sup> // 11 – 11  
 .....<sup>102</sup> .....  
 stutah<sup>103</sup> sa bhagavān evam<sup>104</sup> taijasam<sup>105</sup> rūpam āsthitah /  
 uvāca vācam kalyānīm ko varo vaḥ pradīyatām // 26 – 25

brahmovāca

tavātitaijasam̄ rūpam̄ na kaścit soḍhum utsahet /

<sup>86</sup> Bh: vāyvagnir āpaḥ kham

<sup>87</sup> Bh: tasminn

<sup>88</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: amde

<sup>89</sup> Bh: pr̥thvī ca; SRIVASTAVA 2013: pr̥thivīm

<sup>90</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: saptābhārdīpaiḥ

<sup>91</sup> Bh: cāpi

<sup>92</sup> Bh: tatraivāvasthito hy āsam

<sup>93</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tamasā; Bh: pramūḍhāś tamasā

<sup>94</sup> SII: pradhyāyantīśvaram padam; Bh: pradhyātā īśvaram param; SRIVASTAVA 2013: pradhyāyanniśa avaram param

<sup>95</sup> Bh: tato bhidya mahātejah; VB: ... bhiṇḍya ...

<sup>96</sup> Bh: vijñātām̄ savitus

<sup>97</sup> VB: vijñātūm̄ savitus tathā

<sup>98</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: divyābhīstutibhir

<sup>99</sup> Bh: devam̄ samstotum

<sup>100</sup> SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: aiśvaryāc ca

<sup>101</sup> Bh: devadeva sanātana; SRIVASTAVA 201: devadevo divākaraḥ

<sup>102</sup> Continuation of the hymn until SP v. 25, Bh. v. 24.

<sup>103</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: śrutvā

<sup>104</sup> SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: devas

<sup>105</sup> Bh: tejasam̄; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tajaisam̄

uvāca vācam kalyānīm ko varo vaḥ pradīyatām // 26<sup>106</sup> – 25<sup>107</sup>

sahanīyam bhavatv etad dhitāya jagataḥ prabho // 27<sup>108</sup> – 26<sup>109</sup>

evam astv iti so 'py<sup>110</sup> uktvā bhagavān dinakṛd vibhuḥ<sup>111</sup> /

lokānām kāryasiddhyarthām gharmavarṣahimapradah<sup>112</sup> // 28<sup>113</sup> – 27<sup>114</sup>

ataḥ sāṃkhyāś ca yogāś ca ye cānye mokṣakāmṛkṣināḥ /

dhyāyanti dhyānino nityām hṛdayastham divākaram // 29<sup>115</sup> – 28<sup>116</sup>

sarvalakṣaṇāḥīno 'pi yukto vā sarvapātakaiḥ /

sarvam tarati vai<sup>117</sup> pāpam devam arkam<sup>118</sup> samāśritah // 30<sup>119</sup> – 29<sup>120</sup>

agnihotram ca vedāś ca yajñāś ca bahudakṣināḥ /

bhānor bhaktinamaskārāt<sup>121</sup> kalām nārhaṇti<sup>122</sup> śoḍāśīm // 31<sup>123</sup> – 30<sup>124</sup>

tīrthānām paramām tīrthām maṇgalānām ca maṇgalam /

pavitrāṇām pavitraṁ<sup>125</sup> ca

pavitraṁ ca pavitrāṇām

prapadyet tam<sup>126</sup> divākaram // 32<sup>127</sup>

taṁ prapadye divākaram // 31<sup>128</sup>

brahmādyaiḥ saṃstutam devair ye namasyanti<sup>129</sup> bhāskaram /

sarvakilbiṣanirmuktāḥ

nirmuktāḥ kilbiṣaiḥ sarvaiḥ

sūryalokam vrajanti te // 33<sup>130</sup>

te yānti ravimandiram // 32<sup>131</sup>

.....

<sup>106</sup> In SRIVASTAVA 2013 it is number 27.

<sup>107</sup> VB: 27

<sup>108</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 28

<sup>109</sup> VB: 28

<sup>110</sup> Bh: gām statt so 'py

<sup>111</sup> Bh: sarvakṛt svayam

<sup>112</sup> Bh: -varṣā-

<sup>113</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 29

<sup>114</sup> VB: 29

<sup>115</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 30

<sup>116</sup> VB: 30

<sup>117</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvam antarate; SII: sarghamtastarate

<sup>118</sup> Bh: daivakarma-

<sup>119</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 31

<sup>120</sup> VB: 31

<sup>121</sup> Bh: bhaktyā namaskāra-; SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhakternamaskārāt-

<sup>122</sup> VB: bhaktir namaskārāt nārhati

<sup>123</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 32

<sup>124</sup> VB: 32

<sup>125</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: pavitranaṁ

<sup>126</sup> SI: prapadye ham

<sup>127</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 33

<sup>128</sup> VB: 33

<sup>129</sup> Bh: prapadyanti

<sup>130</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 34

<sup>131</sup> VB: 34

sāṁba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

śarīralikhanam bhānoḥ<sup>132</sup> katham vai pratipāditam<sup>133</sup> /  
devair vā ḥsibhir<sup>134</sup> vāpi tan mamākhyātum arhasi<sup>135</sup> // 1 – 34<sup>136</sup>

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

brahma-loke sukhāśinam brahmāṇam sasurāsuram<sup>137</sup> /  
ṛṣayah samupāgamya<sup>138</sup> idam ūcuḥ samāhitāḥ // 2 – 35<sup>139</sup>  
bhagavann aditeḥ<sup>140</sup> putro ya eṣa divi rājate /  
mārtamda iti vikhyātāḥ tenāṁdhakāro nikṛttāḥ  
tigmatejā mahātapāḥ // 3 so 'yam jājvalatīti hi // 36<sup>141</sup>  
asya tejobhir akhilam jagat sthāvarajamgamam /  
kliśyamānam anākrandam nāśam āyāti deveśa  
upekṣasi katham prabho // 4 yathā kliṣṭam<sup>143</sup> nadītaṭam // 37<sup>144</sup>  
vayam apy āhitāśamkās<sup>142</sup> vayam ca pīḍitāḥ sarve  
tejasā sampramohitāḥ / tejasā tasya mohitāḥ /  
padmaś cāyam yathā mlāno

<sup>132</sup> Bh: śarīralekhanam sūrye

<sup>133</sup> SI: kati veditah; SII: pratipāditaḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kati voditah

<sup>134</sup> Bh: devaiḥ ṣaṣṭibhir

<sup>135</sup> Bh: -ācakṣa suvrata; VB: -ācakṣva

<sup>136</sup> VB: 36

<sup>137</sup> Bh: brāhmaṇam te surāsurāḥ

<sup>138</sup> SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ṣayaś copasamgamya

<sup>139</sup> VB: 37

<sup>140</sup> Bh: devatā-; VB: devataiḥ

<sup>141</sup> VB: 38

<sup>142</sup> SII: adhyāhitāḥ śamkhaḥ

<sup>143</sup> VB: klinnam

<sup>144</sup> VB: 39

yo 'yam yonis tava prabho // 38<sup>145</sup>

divi bhuvy antarikṣe ca śarma nopalabhaṁahe // 5 –

evam uktas tu bhagavān  
uvāca kamalāsanaḥ /

tathā kuru surajyeṣṭha  
yathā tejah praśāmyati // – 39<sup>146</sup>  
evam uktaḥ sa bhagavān  
padmayoniḥ prajāpatiḥ /  
uvāca bhagavān brahmā  
devān viṣṇupurogamān / – 40<sup>147</sup>  
mahādevena sahitā  
indreṇa ca mahātmanā //

tam eva śaraṇam devam gacchāmaḥ sahitā vayam<sup>148</sup> // 6 – 41<sup>149</sup>

tatas tam udayodagram  
śailarājāvatāmsakam /  
saprajāpatayah<sup>150</sup> sarve  
saṁstotum upacakramuḥ // 7

tatas te sahitāḥ sarve  
brahmaviṣṇvādayaḥ surāḥ /  
gatvā te śaraṇam sarve  
bhāskaram lokabhāskaram / 42<sup>151</sup>  
stotum pracakramuḥ sarve  
bhaktinamrāḥ samaṁtataḥ /  
keśādidevataḥ sarvā<sup>152</sup>  
bhaktibhāvasamanvitāḥ // 43<sup>153</sup>

brahmovāca

brahmaviṣṇvīśā ūcuḥ

namo namaḥ suravara tigmatejase<sup>154</sup> 8a –

namo namaḥ suravara saṁstutāya vai //  
jaḍāṁḍhamukān badhirān sakuṣṭhān  
saśvitraṇo 'ṁdhān vidhavraṇāvṛtān<sup>155</sup> /<sup>156</sup>

<sup>145</sup> VB: 40

<sup>146</sup> VB: 41

<sup>147</sup> VB: 42

<sup>148</sup> SII: vyayam

<sup>149</sup> VB: 43

<sup>150</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: suprajāpatayah

<sup>151</sup> VB: 44

<sup>152</sup> VB: sarve

<sup>153</sup> VB: 45

<sup>154</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: sukharatigmatejase

<sup>155</sup> VB: vividha-

<sup>156</sup> VB: 46

karoṣi tān eva punar navān-t-sadā<sup>157</sup>  
ato mahākāruṇikāya te namah // 44

158

stutah sa bhagavān evam  
prajāpatimukhaiḥ suraiḥ /  
matvā<sup>159</sup> teṣām abhiprāyam uvāca bhagavān idam<sup>160</sup> // 15 – 53a<sup>161</sup>  
hitam copahitam<sup>162</sup> nityam  
gāyatram yad vacaḥ param /  
tad vai brūta surāḥ kṣipram  
kim mayā kṛiyatām svayam // 16 –

viśvakarmā tavādeśāt  
karotu tava saumyatām // – 54b

157 Samdhi

<sup>158</sup> Continuation of the hymn.

<sup>159</sup> Bh: jñātvā

<sup>160</sup> SII: (ra)vih; Bh: vacah

161 VB-56h

162 SRIVASTAVA 2013: coparahitam

SRIVASTAVA 201

163 SIT: tan

164 VB: 60

<sup>166</sup> SI: hrdayam; Bh: glāpayamś; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tapaya hrdayam

<sup>167</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: *yuktatejā bhavat tataḥ*

<sup>168</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: cakram caiva

169 VB: 62

<sup>170</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tena

<sup>171</sup> SI: atitejasah; Bh: sadā vai daityadānavaṇ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: amitājasah

<sup>172</sup> SII: cakra statt Vajra; SI: śūlaṁ śaktim gadāṁ cakre-; SRIVASTAVA 2013: śūlaṁ śaktim gadāṁ cakram śārasanaparaśvaghān

173 VB: 63

VB. 65

Bil. dev.

176 SIVASTAVA 2013: sāgraśaracchatam

SRIVAS  
177 VB. 65

VB. 65

<sup>179</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: pavitram

SRIVAS  
180 VB: 66

<sup>180</sup> VB: 66

181 Continuation of

182 VB: 82

165 VB: 83

śastrāṇy ugrāṇi yāni vai /  
 yakṣavidyādhārāṇāṁ ca  
 tāni cakre ca viśvakṛt // 80<sup>184</sup>  
 tataś ca ṣoḍaśāṁ bhāgāṁ  
 bibharti bhagavān raviḥ /  
 tattejasah paṁcadaśa  
 śātitā viśvakarmanā // 81<sup>185</sup>  
 tataḥ surūpadṛg bhānur  
 uttarān agamat kurūn /  
 dadarśa tatra samjñāṁ ca  
 vaḍavārūpadhāriṇīm // 82<sup>186</sup>

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SP. 4 / Bh. I. 74

bṛhadbala uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

sthāpito yadi sāṁbena sūryaś caṁdrasarittaṭe /  
 tasmān nādyam<sup>187</sup> idam sthānam yathaitad bhāṣitam tvayā<sup>188</sup> // 1 – 1

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

ādyam sthānam idam bhānoḥ paścāt sāṁbena nirmitam<sup>189</sup> /  
 vistareṇāsyā cādyatvam<sup>190</sup> kathyamānam nibodha me // 2 – 2  
 anāyo<sup>191</sup> lokanātho 'sau<sup>192</sup> rāśmimālī<sup>193</sup> jagatpatih<sup>194</sup> //

<sup>184</sup> VB: 84

<sup>185</sup> VB: 85

<sup>186</sup> VB: 86

<sup>187</sup> The same in all texts. Maybe to read tasmād ādyam?

<sup>188</sup> Bh: bhāṣate bhavān

<sup>189</sup> Bh: bhārata

<sup>190</sup> Bh: cādyasya

<sup>191</sup> VB: atrādyo

<sup>192</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: lokanātaḥ sa

<sup>193</sup> SI: sāvaśyamālī; SRIVASTAVA 2013: viśvamālī

<sup>194</sup> SI: -prabhuḥ

mitratve 'vasthito <sup>195</sup> devas tapas tepe narādhipa <sup>196</sup> // 3 – 3	
anādinidhano brahmā nityaś cākṣara <sup>197</sup> eva ca /	
sṛṣṭvā prajāpatīn sarvān <sup>198</sup> sṛṣṭvā ca vividhāḥ prajāḥ / 4 – 4	
	sasarja mukhato devam
	pūrvam aṁbujasannibham //
	kaṁjajas tam tato devam
	vakṣasto nirmame nṛpa / 5
	lalāṭāt kuruśārdūla
	nīrajākṣam digaṁbaram <sup>199</sup> /
	ṛbhavaḥ pādataḥ <sup>200</sup> sarve
	sṛṣṭas tena mahātmanā // 6
tataḥ sa ca <sup>201</sup> sahasrāṁśur avyaktah puruṣah svayam /	
kṛtvā dvādaśadhātmānam adityām udapadyata / 5 – 7	
indro dhātā ca parjanyaḥ pūṣā tvaṣṭā 'ryamā bhagaḥ /	
vivasvān viṣṇur aṁśus <sup>202</sup> ca varuṇo mitra eva ca // 6 – 8	
ābhir <sup>203</sup> dvādaśabhis tena sūryeṇa paramātmanā <sup>204</sup> /	
sarvam <sup>205</sup> jagad idam vyāptam mūrtibhis tu narādhipa // 7 – 9	
tasya yā prathamā mūrtir ādityasyendrasaṁjñītā /	
sthitā sā devarājatve	sthitā sā devarājatve
devānām anuśāśinī // 8	dānavāsuranāśinī // 10
dviṭyārkasya <sup>206</sup> yā mūrtir nāmnā dhāteti kīrtitā /	
sthitā prajāpatitve sā vividhāḥ <sup>207</sup> srjate prajāḥ // 9 – 11	
trtiyārkasya <sup>208</sup> yā mūrtih parjanya iti viśrutā /	

<sup>195</sup> Bh: ca sthito

<sup>196</sup> Bh: purā nrpa; SRIVASTAVA 2013: narādhipah

<sup>197</sup> Bh: cāksaya

198 Bh: brahmā

<sup>199</sup> VB: nīrajāksa-digamharam

<sup>200</sup> VB: nādataḥ rbhavah

201 Bh. śata

201 Bh: sata-  
202 For amáo

<sup>202</sup> For *amṣa*. Bh: *amṣur viṣṇus*  
<sup>203</sup> Bh: *ahin*

203 Bh: ebhír  
204 Bl: -lit

204 Bh: ādityena mah  
205 SH Bl. 1. 4

205 SII, Bh: kṛtsna

<sup>206</sup> Bh: dvitīyā cāsy

207 Bh: vidhātrī

<p>megheśv avasthitā sā tu  varṣate ca gabhastibhiḥ // 10</p> <p>caturthī tasya yā mūrtir nāmnā pūseti viśrutā /  anne vyavasthitā<sup>209</sup> sā tu prajāḥ puṣṇāti nityaśah<sup>210</sup> // 11 – 13</p> <p>paṃcamī tasya yā mūrtir<sup>211</sup> nāmnā tvaṣṭeti viśrutā /  sthitā vanaspatau<sup>212</sup> sā tu</p> <p>oṣadhīṣu<sup>213</sup> ca sarvaśah // 12</p> <p>mūrtih ṣaṣṭhī raver yā tu  aryamā iti<sup>214</sup> viśrutā /</p> <p>vāyoḥ saṃcaraṇārthā sā  deheśv eva samāśritā // 13</p> <p>vanaspatiṣu sā nityam  oṣadhīṣu ca vai sthitā // 14</p> <p>ṣaṣṭhī mūrtis tu yā tasya  aryameti ca viśrutā /  prajāsaṃvaraṇārtham sā  pureśv eva sthitā sadā // 15</p>	<p>kareśv eva sthitā sā tu  varṣaty amṛtam eva hi // 12</p>
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<sup>209</sup> SII: bhāno vyavasthitā; Bh: maṃtreśv avasthitā

<sup>210</sup> Bh: bhārata

<sup>211</sup> Bh: mūrtir yā tasya; VB: mūrtir yā paṃcamī tasya

<sup>212</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: vanaspatau

<sup>213</sup> SI: ausadhīṣu, Caesura saṃdhī

<sup>214</sup> This line is missing in SII.

bhānor yā saptamī mūrtir nāmnā bhaga iti śrutā<sup>215</sup> /  
 bhūmau vyavasthitā sā tu  
 śarīreṣu ca dehinām // 14  
 mūrtir yā cāṣṭamī cāsya<sup>216</sup> vivasvān iti viśrutā<sup>217</sup> /  
 agnau vyavasthitā sā tu pacaty<sup>218</sup> annam śarīrinām // 15 – 17  
 navamī citrabhānor<sup>219</sup> yā  
 mūrtir viṣṇuś ca nāmataḥ /  
 prādurbhavati sā nityam  
 devānām arisūdanī // 16  
 daśamī tasya yā mūrtir  
 amśumān iti viśrutā /  
 vāyau pratiṣṭhitā sā tu  
 prahlādayati<sup>220</sup> vai prajāḥ // 17  
 mūrtis tv ekādaśī yā tu bhānor varuṇasamjñitā /  
 sā jīvayati vai<sup>222</sup> kṛtsnam jagad apsu pratiṣṭhitā<sup>223</sup> // 18 – 20  
 (apām sthānam samudras tu varuṇo 'psu<sup>224</sup> pratiṣṭhitah /  
 tasmād vai procyate nāmnā<sup>225</sup> sāgaro varuṇālayah //) 19 – 21  
 mūrtir yā dvādaśī bhānor nāmato mitrasamjñitā /  
 lokānām sā hitārthā<sup>226</sup> sthitā caṇḍrasarittaे // 20 – 22  
 vāyubhakṣas tapas tepe  
 sthito maitreṇa cakṣuṣā /  
 anugṛhṇan sadā bhaktān varair nānāvidhais tu sah<sup>227</sup> // 21 – 23  
 evam ādyam idam sthānam paścāt sāṁbena nirmitam<sup>228</sup> /  
 tatra mitraḥ sthito yasmāt tasmān mitravanaṁ<sup>229</sup> smṛtam // 22 – 24

<sup>215</sup> Bh: smṛta

<sup>216</sup> SI, SII: cātra; Bh: aṣṭamī cāsya yā mūrtir; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vā 'sya

<sup>217</sup> Bh: samjñitā

<sup>218</sup> Bh: pacate '-

<sup>219</sup> SI: mitrabhānor

<sup>220</sup> SII: prahrādayati

<sup>221</sup> Rearrangement of the correspondence Viṣṇu – Amśu.

<sup>222</sup> Bh: jīvāyayati sā

<sup>223</sup> SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: pratiṣṭhitam; Bh: jagad dhi samupāśritā

<sup>224</sup> Bh: 'tra

<sup>225</sup> Bh: vīra

<sup>226</sup> Bh: hitārtham tu

<sup>227</sup> Bh: sadā; VB: -ḥ sadā

<sup>228</sup> Bh: punyam mitrapadam smṛtam

<sup>229</sup> Bh: mitrapadam

tam ārādhya<sup>230</sup> mahābāho  
 sāṁbenāmitatejasā /  
 tatprasādāt tadādeśāt  
 pratiṣṭhā tasya vai kṛtā // 25

evaṁ dvādaśabhis tena  
 savitrā paramātmanā / 23  
 kṛtsnam jagad idam vyāptam mūrtibhis tu narādhipa //<sup>231</sup> – 26  
 tasmād vaṁdyo namasyaś ca dvādaśasv āsu<sup>232</sup> mūrtiṣu /  
 bhaktimadbhir narair nityam  
 tadgatenāntarātmanā //

ābhir dvādaśabhis tena  
 bhāskareṇa mahātmanā /  
 ye namasyam̄ti cādityam  
 narā bhaktisamanvitāḥ / 27  
 te yāsyam̄ti param sthānam  
 tiṣṭhed yatrāṁbujeśvarah /

ity evam<sup>233</sup> dvādaśādityam  
 jagaj jñātvā tu mānavah /  
 nityam śrutvā paṭhitvā ca  
 sūryaloke mahīyate // 24

ity evam dvādaśātmānam  
 ādityam pūjayed tu yaḥ // 28  
 sa muktaḥ sarvapāpebhyo  
 yāti helisalokatām // 29

## SP. 42

vasiṣṭha uvāca

kṛtvā devagrham sāṁba ānayitvā<sup>234</sup> tu yājakān /  
 ājagāmātha dharmātmā yatra saṁnihito raviḥ // 1

<sup>230</sup> Bh: tayārādhya

<sup>231</sup> This and the following two lines are missing in SI.

<sup>232</sup> Bh: api

<sup>233</sup> SII: etad

<sup>234</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy ānayitvā

ye te mitravanam śrutvā<sup>235</sup> devamānasapannagāḥ<sup>236</sup> /  
 ṣayah saiddhavidyādhrā gaṁḍharvoragaguhyakāḥ // 2  
 dikpālā lokapālāś ca grahā<sup>237</sup> yakṣāś ca dhārmikāḥ /  
 saprajāpatayah sarve gaṁtum pratyupacakramuḥ // 3  
 upavāsaparāḥ kecit kecid ātmani tatparāḥ /  
 trivṛtādhvaparāḥ<sup>238</sup> kecit kecij jāpyasamanvitāḥ // 4  
 dārucāpadharāḥ<sup>239</sup> kecit kecit sarvārthagāmināḥ /  
 apare niyatāhārā nirāhārāś<sup>240</sup> tathāpare // (5)  
 tyaktvā dehagatāṁ cīmtāṁ ravidhyānaparāyanāḥ /  
 māsapakṣopavāsenā kecil<sup>241</sup> laṁghanam ātmani // 5<sup>242</sup>  
 acireṇaiva kālena samprāpya lavaṇodadhim /  
 dṛṣṭvā tapovanam ramyam lavaṇodadhim āśritam / 7  
 nānāpuṣpaphalopetāṁ devagamḍharvasevitam /  
 ṣayah<sup>243</sup> paryupāsante kramāṁ hitvā tataḥ sadā // 8  
 aparo ravigokas tu sādṛṣyāt kīrtito bhuvi /  
 sarve te harṣam āpannā<sup>244</sup> dṛṣṭvā ramyam tapovanam / 9  
 ramaṇyam sarvakāryeṣu sarvabhūtopakārakam /  
 sarvaprāṇisukhāvāsam nirmitāṁ viśvakarmanā // 10

vasiṣṭha uvāca

nārado 'py atha śāstram tat sadā paṭhati<sup>245</sup> buddhimān /  
 sādu sāṁba mahābhāga bhaktimān asi yādava / 11  
 yeneṇam īdṛṣī yā tu kṛtā<sup>246</sup> tv arcā sanātanī /  
 tvatprasādenā<sup>247</sup> sāvitram yat paśyāmas<sup>248</sup> tapovanam // 12

<sup>235</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ete mitravanam śrutvā; SII: ye te mitravanāśīnā

<sup>236</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: devamānuṣapannagāḥ

<sup>237</sup> SI: gr̥hā; SII: missing

<sup>238</sup> SII: nivṛtā-

<sup>239</sup> SI: -dhārāḥ; SII: dānucāpadharāḥ

<sup>240</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'nirāhārāś

<sup>241</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: kecit

<sup>242</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 6

<sup>243</sup> SII: ḥtavah

<sup>244</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: harṣamāpannāḥ

<sup>245</sup> SII: tam̥ saṁḍāpayati

<sup>246</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kṛtvā

<sup>247</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tatprasādena

<sup>248</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: paśyāmaḥ

śrutvā tan nirmalam vākyam sāṁbaḥ paramadharmaṁ /  
 praṇidhāya śiro bhūmau devam vijñāpayat tataḥ // 13  
 yat tvayodāhṛtam pūrvam sāṁnidhyam sthānam uttamam /  
 mamaivānugrahād eva<sup>249</sup> pūjānugrahakāriṇā<sup>250</sup> // 14  
 [asti me kṛpayā kiñcidvada saumya vibhāvasoh /  
 kṣīṇagātrendriyaprāṇo girā cāpyatimandayā // 15]<sup>251</sup>  
 jñātvā bhaktyānvitam<sup>252</sup> sāṁbaṁ devo vacanam abravīt /  
 tyaja kīrtikṛtāṁ cintāṁ matsthāne yadunaṁdana // 16  
 pūrvadattam mayā vācā prasādaṁ śṛṇu yādava /  
 asmiṁ lavaṇodatīre<sup>253</sup> tāpasāḥ pūrvamānavāḥ / 17  
 matprasādaṁ ca kāṁkṣantah kliṣṭvā<sup>254</sup> varṣaśatān bahūn /  
 tān dṛṣṭvā tāpasāṁs<sup>255</sup> tatra kṛpā me vikṛtā hṛdi // 18  
 brūta vatsā yathā nyāyam yathāvac cāvalaṁbanam<sup>256</sup> /  
 satyadharmaṁrthayuktārthān prārthayadhvam anuttamān<sup>257</sup> // (19)  
 śrutvā tan<sup>258</sup> nirmalam vākyam devavaktrād viniḥsṛtam /  
 mānavā harṣam āpannāḥ saṁprahṛṣṭātmamānasāḥ // 20  
 yadi prasanno bhagavān varam dātum samudyataḥ /  
 avighnam astu naḥ stheyā tvayi<sup>259</sup> bhaktir vibhāvaso<sup>260</sup> // 21  
 evam astv iti so 'py<sup>261</sup> uktvā bhagavān dinakṛd vibhuḥ<sup>262</sup> /  
 aparam prārthayadhvam vai varam vadata mānavāḥ // 22  
 bhūyas tuṣṭās tu te sāṁba sarvadharmaṇīyanāḥ /  
 prārthayante varam<sup>263</sup> śreṣṭham prahṛṣṭotphullalocanāḥ<sup>264</sup> // 23

<sup>249</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: mamaivānugrahāt deva-

<sup>250</sup> SII: dvijānugraha-

<sup>251</sup> Not present in von STIETENCRON's edition (1966); he reports it in n. 54, p. 68. Added from SRIVASTAVA's edited text (2013: 145).

<sup>252</sup> SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhaktyānvitam; SII: gatvā for jñātvā

<sup>253</sup> SI, SII: lavaṇodadhes tīre; SRIVASTAVA 2013: asmin lavaṇodadheḥ tīre

<sup>254</sup> SII: kliṣṭyā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kliṣṭān

<sup>255</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: tāpasān

<sup>256</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: payo varco 'valaṁbanam

<sup>257</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: anuttamam

<sup>258</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: te

<sup>259</sup> SII: tava; SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: naś caiva tvayi

<sup>260</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: vibhāvasau

<sup>261</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: saḥ api

<sup>262</sup> SII: -t prabhuḥ

<sup>263</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: param

<sup>264</sup> SII: prakṛṣṭotphulla

munaya ūcuḥ

yadi tuṣṭo mahātejā varam dātum samudyataḥ /  
tvatprasādena deveśa sraṣṭāraś ca bhavāmahe<sup>265</sup> // 24

vasiṣṭha uvāca

tatprasanno mahātejāḥ punar vacanam abravīt /  
evaṁ bhavatu yūyam<sup>266</sup> vai prajāsargam prakalpsyatha<sup>267</sup> // 25  
anyac chṛṇuta vakṣyāmi kīrtikāraṇahetunā /  
idam tapovanaṁ ramyam yad āsthānam<sup>268</sup> anuttamam // 26  
śrutvā tan<sup>269</sup> nirmalam vākyam te vai prāhur divākaram /  
tvatprasādena cāsmākam deva yat pratikāritam<sup>270</sup> / 27  
kīrtyartham̄ prati lakṣyāmo<sup>271</sup> rocayasva divākara /  
idam sthānam̄ samāsādya vayaṁ tīrṇāḥ suraprabho<sup>272</sup> // 28  
prajānām̄ ca hitārthāya (mamaivānugrahāya ca<sup>273</sup>) /  
atra kīrtim̄ kariṣyāmaḥ prasādāt tava bhāskara // 29

deva uvāca

dattvā yūyam̄ mama sthānam̄ saptadvīpeṣu durlabham /  
manvantaram athaikam̄ ca kīrtimanto bhaviṣyatha // 30  
tatra siddhāḥ sagamdhārvā ye cānye<sup>274</sup> ca surottamāḥ /  
mama sthānaratāḥ sarve tenordhvam<sup>275</sup> naivabhāṣitam // 31

.....

<sup>265</sup> SI: sraṣṭāro 'py abhavāmahe; SRIVASTAVA 2013: strṣṭāro 'syabhavāmahe

<sup>266</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhūyo

<sup>267</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prakalpyatha; SII: prakalpayat

<sup>268</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: yadā sthānam

<sup>269</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tu

<sup>270</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prītikārakam

<sup>271</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: lapsyāmo

<sup>272</sup> SII: suraprabhoḥ

<sup>273</sup> The compiler forgot to change the word *mama*.

<sup>274</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: mamtrasiddhāḥ tu ye cānye munayaś

<sup>275</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: tenārdhvam

vasiṣṭha uvāca

tasmīms<sup>276</sup> tapovane deśe<sup>277</sup> tīre tu lavaṇodadheḥ /  
 tiṣṭhamti ye ca samprāptā devadarśanakāṃkṣināḥ // 1  
 jecid dhyāyamti pūtātmā<sup>278</sup> kecit tadgatamānasāḥ /  
 yajanti havyasaṃpānnāś<sup>279</sup> cintayanti ātmataṭparāḥ // 2  
 gāyanti siddhagandharvā<sup>280</sup> nṛtyanty apsarasō<sup>281</sup> varāḥ /  
 vīnāhastāś<sup>282</sup> ca ye kecid arghahastās tathāpare // 3  
 kṛtāñjalipuṭāḥ kecit kecid ānatamastakāḥ /  
 yogino yogacittās ca munayo yatamānasāḥ<sup>283</sup> // 4  
 ḥsayāḥ kṣāntisamyauktā<sup>284</sup> devāḥ stuvaṇṭi<sup>285</sup> bhāskaram /  
 yātudhānās tathā yaksāḥ siddhāś caiva mahoragāḥ // 5  
 dikpālā lokapālāś ca ye ca vighnavināyakāḥ /  
 sarve bhaktiparā bhūtvā tiṣṭhanti sūryakānane // 6  
 kṣīṇagātrendriyaprāṇā devārādhanataṭparāḥ /  
 jāgarārtiparāḥ kliṣṭā adhvabhiḥ paripīḍitāḥ // 7  
 stūyamānāḥ sthitāḥ sarve bhāskarodayakāṃkṣināḥ /  
 tataḥ prabhātāsamaye padmarāgāruṇyaprabhe // 8  
 vimalā bhūrdiśāḥ sarvāḥ kiraṇe dyotane<sup>286</sup> raveḥ //<sup>287</sup> 9a  
 ravirāgāruṇībhūtaṁ sāgarākāśabhūtalām /  
 tatkṣaṇenaiva sarvāśām ekajvālatvam āgatam<sup>288</sup> // 10  
 tasyām udayavelāyām viśvavamdyāikam<sup>289</sup> āspadām /

<sup>276</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: tasmin

<sup>277</sup> SII: tapovanodeśe for -oddeśe

<sup>278</sup> SII: pūtātmā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kecit dhyāyanti pūtātmānaḥ

<sup>279</sup> SII: jathasaṃpānnāḥ

<sup>280</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: siddhagandharvāḥ

<sup>281</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: apsarasām

<sup>282</sup> SII: mālāhastāś

<sup>283</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: yatamānasāḥ

<sup>284</sup> SII: -saṃpānnā

<sup>285</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: stunvaṇṭi

<sup>286</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kiraṇodyotanai for kiraṇoddyyotanai

<sup>287</sup> SI repeats the line 8a.

<sup>288</sup> SI, SII: āgatāḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvāśāmaikajvālatvamāgatāḥ

<sup>289</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: vivasvadvyāikam

vīkṣyamāṇādbhutaṁ rūpam virājantam̄ divākaram // 12<sup>290</sup>  
 divisthaṁ sāgarasthaṁ ca dvividhaṁ maṇḍalodyatam<sup>291</sup> /  
 aparā bhagavanmūrtir jalāmadhye virājate // 13<sup>292</sup>  
 sarve vismayam āpannā dṛṣṭvā cādbhutadarśanam /  
 manavo bāhusaṁvāhair avatīrṇā mahodadhim // 14<sup>293</sup>  
 bāhubhiḥ samgrhītvā tu<sup>294</sup> ānayitvā<sup>295</sup> tapovanam /  
 sthāpayitvā vidhānena manavo hrṣṭamānasāḥ // 15<sup>296</sup>  
 stotraiḥ<sup>297</sup> stuvanti te citraiḥ sāṅgopāṅgaiḥ susaṁmitaiḥ /

tvam̄ deva pralayah kālah kṣayah kṣodah<sup>298</sup> kṣayānalah // 16<sup>299</sup>  
 udbhavaḥ sthitisampattiḥ prajās te cāṅgasam̄bhavāḥ<sup>300</sup> /  
 śośavarṣahima<sup>301</sup> gharma prahlāda sukhaśītalam // 17<sup>302</sup>

tvam̄ deva sṛṣṭikartā<sup>303</sup> ca prakṛtiḥ puruṣaḥ prabhuḥ /  
 chāyāsaṁjñāpratiṣṭhāpi<sup>304</sup> nirālambo nirāśrayaḥ // 18<sup>305</sup>  
 āśrayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ namaḥ te 'stu sadā mama /

tvam̄ deva sarvataścakṣuḥ sarvataḥ sarvadā gatiḥ / 19<sup>306</sup>  
 sarvadah<sup>307</sup> sarvajñah<sup>308</sup> sarvah̄ sarvasevyas<sup>309</sup> tvam̄ ārtihā /  
 tvam̄ deva dhyāninām̄ dhyānam̄ yoginām̄ yoga uttamah<sup>310</sup> // 20<sup>311</sup>

<sup>290</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 11

<sup>291</sup> SII: -oddhataṁ

<sup>292</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 12

<sup>293</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013:13

<sup>294</sup> SII: vai

<sup>295</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy ānayitvā

<sup>296</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 15

<sup>297</sup> SI, SII: stotrai

<sup>298</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kṣāmtaḥ

<sup>299</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 15

<sup>300</sup> SI: -saṁbhuvā, SII: prajā tejo gatikṣamā

<sup>301</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: -himam̄-

<sup>302</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 16

<sup>303</sup> SI: ḍṣikarttā

<sup>304</sup> SII: chāyāsaṁjñānirākarśo

<sup>305</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 17

<sup>306</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 18

<sup>307</sup> SII: sarvagah̄

<sup>308</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvadā

<sup>309</sup> SII: sarvadārttiḥā

<sup>310</sup> SII: yogānuttamah

<sup>311</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 19

tvam māsa<sup>312</sup>phaladah sarvah sadyah pāpaharo vibhuḥ /  
sarvārtināśano 'nāśī karaṇam karuṇā prabhuḥ // 21<sup>313</sup>  
dayāśaktih kṣamāvāsaḥ saghṇir ghṛṇimūrtimān /

tvam deva sṛṣṭisamhārasthitirūpaḥ surādhipaḥ // 22<sup>314</sup>  
varṣakah śoṣako dāhī<sup>315</sup> tuṣāro dahanātmakah /  
praṇatārtiharo yogī yogamūrte namo 'stu te // 23<sup>316</sup>

tvam deva hrdayānamda śiroratnam<sup>317</sup> prabhāmaṇih<sup>318</sup>/  
bodhakah pāṭhako dhyāyī<sup>319</sup> grāhako grahaṇātmakah // 24<sup>320</sup>

tvam deva niyamo nyāyī nyāyako nyāyavardhanaḥ /  
anityo niyato nityo nyāyamūrte namo 'stu te // 25<sup>321</sup>

tvam deva trāyase prāptān<sup>322</sup> pālayasy arṇavasthitān<sup>323</sup> /  
ūrdhvam<sup>324</sup> trāṣārditān<sup>325</sup> lokān lokacakṣur namo 'stu te // 26<sup>326</sup>

damano 'si tvam durdānto sādhyānām caiva sādhakah /  
bandhus tvam bandhuhīnānām namas te bandhurūpiṇe // 27<sup>327</sup>

kuru śāntim dayāvāsaḥ<sup>328</sup> prasīda jagataḥ pate /  
yad asmābhīr hitām vākyam abhiṣṭam kīrtitam prabho // 28<sup>329</sup>

<sup>312</sup> Srivastava 2013: bhāsa-; SI: bhāsā-; SII: māsā-

<sup>313</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 20

<sup>314</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 21

<sup>315</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bakaḥ śoṣo vṛko dāhas

<sup>316</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 22

<sup>317</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -ratna-

<sup>318</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: prabhāmaṇih; KHANDELAVĀLA 2012: prabhāmaṇih (23a); STIETENCRON 1966: prabhāmaṇih.

<sup>319</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'dhyāyī

<sup>320</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 23

<sup>321</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 24

<sup>322</sup> STIETECRON 1966: patrān; SI: trayase prāptān

<sup>323</sup> SII: apāyasy arṇave sthitān

<sup>324</sup> SI: ūrddham; SII: ūrddhā

<sup>325</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: trāṣārditān

<sup>326</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 25

<sup>327</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 26

<sup>328</sup> SI: dayāvāsa; SII: damyāvāsa

<sup>329</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 27

evam stutvā<sup>330</sup> tataḥ sarve papracchuḥ pratimāṁ raveḥ /  
 keneyam nirmitā mūrtih kena tvam pratipāditah / (29)  
 kasmād ihāgato deva samśayo 'tra niyaccha naḥ // 30<sup>331</sup>

deva uvāca

tasmin kāle samādeśān nirmitā viśvakarmaṇā /  
 sarvalokahitārthāya sā<sup>332</sup> surair arcitā purā // 31<sup>333</sup>  
 tasmin himavataḥ prṣṭhe kalpavṛkṣe nidhāpitā /  
 tasmāt tu candrabhāgāyāṁ praviṣṭā sthānakāraṇāt // 32<sup>334</sup>  
 candrabhāgāc<sup>335</sup> ca vipāśām<sup>336</sup> vipāśāc<sup>337</sup> ca śatadravam<sup>338</sup> /  
 śatadravāc ca vijñeyā praviṣṭā yamunām nadīm // 33<sup>339</sup>  
 yamunāto jāhnavīm ca<sup>340</sup> tayānītā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ /  
 bhāgīrathīto<sup>341</sup> vijñeyā modagaṅgām mahānadīm<sup>342</sup> // 34<sup>343</sup>  
 mamaivānugrahenāsau<sup>344</sup> tīrthānām pravaraḥ smṛtaḥ /  
 tasmād vai modagaṅgāt<sup>345</sup> tu praviṣṭā lavaṇodadhim // 35<sup>346</sup>  
 sāmprataṁ ca pravartadhvam sthāpanam me manūttamāḥ /  
 śrutvā devās tu tad vākyam nirmalam prītivardhanam // 36<sup>347</sup>  
 prāñjalipraṇatā bhūtāḥ stūyamānā raviṁ sthitāḥ /  
 tato vaivasvataḥ prājñāḥ sarvadharmaṇoditah<sup>348</sup> / 37<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> SI: śrutvā

<sup>331</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 28

<sup>332</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sa

<sup>333</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 29

<sup>334</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 30

<sup>335</sup> SI: cāmṛdrabhāgāc; SRIVASTAVA 2013: candrabhāgā yā

<sup>336</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: vaipāśām; SII: vipāśo

<sup>337</sup> For vipāśah

<sup>338</sup> SI: śatadravam; SII: śatūtām, śata drujāc

<sup>339</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 31

<sup>340</sup> SII: prāptā-

<sup>341</sup> SII: tā for -ito

<sup>342</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: modagaṅgāmahānadau; SII: modagamgā mahānaṇḍam

<sup>343</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 32

<sup>344</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: mamaivānugrahaṇāsau

<sup>345</sup> Abl. in -a stem; SRIVASTAVA 2013: modagaṅgāyāḥ

<sup>346</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 33

<sup>347</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 34

<sup>348</sup> SII: -pracoditah

<sup>349</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 35

kārayāmāsa vipras<sup>350</sup> tu raver devālayam śubham /  
 sthāpayitvā raviṁ bhaktyā triḥsthāneṣu surottamāḥ // 38<sup>351</sup>  
 nivṛttim yānti sukṛto devakāryārthatatparāḥ /  
 sarve dīkṣāparo bhūtvā bhāskarād vidhikāṁkṣināḥ<sup>352</sup> // 39<sup>353</sup>  
 yato 'dhimaṇḍalam kuryuṣ<sup>354</sup> tadgatair antarātmabhiḥ /  
 likhitam maṇḍalam divyam yathoktam bhāskareṇa tu // 40<sup>355</sup>  
 yathāvidhisamuddiṣṭam kriyām saurisamāśritām<sup>356</sup> /  
 viśvakarmābhyanujñāya sarvās tā<sup>357</sup> mūrdhajāḥ prajāḥ // 41<sup>358</sup>  
 tato nāma prakurvanti samprahṛṣṭatanūruhāḥ<sup>359</sup> /  
 anena muṇḍitāḥ<sup>360</sup> sarve tena muṇḍīra<sup>361</sup> ucyate // 42<sup>362</sup>  
 atha<sup>363</sup> kṛt<sup>364</sup>ārthasamjñāś ca nigamajñair udāhṛtāḥ /  
 muṇḍipramardane dhātuḥ samjñāyām ca vidhīyate / (43)  
 prakarṣād<sup>365</sup> ardayed yena tena muṇḍīra<sup>366</sup> ucyate //<sup>367</sup>

vasiṣṭha uvāca

evam ādyam idam sthānam kīrtyate<sup>368</sup> ca yuge yuge /  
 sarvapāpaharam punyam sarvatīrthamayaṁ śubham // 44<sup>369</sup>  
 ye<sup>370</sup> tu kecin<sup>371</sup> narāloke bhaktiyuktārtivedakāḥ /

<sup>350</sup> SI: vīpan; SII: chipram; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vīprāttu

<sup>351</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 36

<sup>352</sup> SI: bhāskarādīkṣākāṁkṣināḥ

<sup>353</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 37

<sup>354</sup> SII: kuryyaṁs

<sup>355</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 38

<sup>356</sup> SII: sauṁṛīsamāśritam

<sup>357</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvānām; STIETENCRON 1966: sarvā tā

<sup>358</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 39

<sup>359</sup> SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -tarūrūhāḥ

<sup>360</sup> SII: muṇḍitāḥ

<sup>361</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: muṇḍita

<sup>362</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 40

<sup>363</sup> SII: atha vā

<sup>364</sup> STIETENCRON 1966: 72 has *kṛtārtha-*; following SRIVASTAVA 2013: 151, I prefer *kṛtārtha-*.

<sup>365</sup> SI, SII: pakarṣād

<sup>366</sup> SI: muṇḍīra; SII: muṇḍāra

<sup>367</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 41

<sup>368</sup> SI: kīrtyete

<sup>369</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 42

<sup>370</sup> STIETENCRON 1966 has *yu tu*; following SRIVASTAVA 2013, I prefer *ye tu*.

<sup>371</sup> SI: kamcin; SII: yam tu kecin; SRIVASTAVA 2013: ye tu kecit

tasmin kṣetre<sup>372</sup> samāpannāḥ sadyo mucyañti cārtitāḥ<sup>373</sup> // 45<sup>374</sup>  
 kecit petur mahāmohād<sup>375</sup> asmiṁs tīrthe<sup>376</sup> vibuddhayāḥ<sup>377</sup> /  
 na teṣāṁ sampadāṁ sthairyam yadi prāptam suduṣkaram<sup>378</sup> // 46<sup>379</sup>  
 yāvat pratapate bhānur yāvac ca lavaṇodadhiḥ /  
 yāvad bhūmidharā devās tāvat kīrtir vibhāvasoh // 47<sup>380</sup>  
 ye ca pāpasamāyuktā jāyante bhuvi mānavāḥ /  
 teṣāṁ eva ravis trātā<sup>381</sup> ye tatkṣetrasamāśritāḥ // (48)<sup>382</sup>  
 (evaṁvidho hy ayam sūryaḥ sadā kāryo vijānatā /  
 devaḥ<sup>383</sup> kīrtidhanākāṁkṣī<sup>384</sup> kiṁpunar bhuvi mānavāḥ //) 6<sup>385</sup>  
 etat sthānam sureśasya sarvair devair adhiṣṭhitam /  
 śāntim<sup>386</sup> puṣṭim sukham kāmam sarvabhūtārtināśanam // 7<sup>387</sup>  
 etad eva hi sā kīrtih kīrtitā munibhiḥ purā /  
 atra paśyanti ye bhānum udyantaṁ mūrtisamsthitam // 8<sup>388</sup>  
 tārayanti<sup>389</sup> narā<sup>390</sup> pūtā ātmānam gotravardhanam /  
 yām yām kriyām samārambheth sūryakṣetreṣu mānavah // 9<sup>391</sup>  
 tām tām siddhim avāpnoti iha loke paratra<sup>392</sup> ca /  
 jambūdvīpo mahādvīpah karmabhūmir anuttamah // 10<sup>393</sup>  
 yatreyam īdṛśī kīrtir devenaiva<sup>394</sup> prakīrtitā /

<sup>372</sup> SI: vāntre / cāntre; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yantre

<sup>373</sup> SI: muṇḍamṛti vartitāḥ; SII: mucyati cārtitāḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vartitāḥ

<sup>374</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 43

<sup>375</sup> SII: narā mohād

<sup>376</sup> Srivastava 2013: tīrthair

<sup>377</sup> SII: vibuddhayuḥ

<sup>378</sup> SII: suduḥkaraḥ

<sup>379</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 44

<sup>380</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 45

<sup>381</sup> SII: tātā

<sup>382</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 46

<sup>383</sup> SII: devāḥ

<sup>384</sup> SII: -ākāṁkṣāḥ

<sup>385</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 47

<sup>386</sup> SI: śāmti-

<sup>387</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 48

<sup>388</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 49

<sup>389</sup> SII: nāśayanti

<sup>390</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: narāḥ

<sup>391</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 50

<sup>392</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'paratra

<sup>393</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 51

<sup>394</sup> SII: devair eva

yatra dr̥syet<sup>395</sup> sahasrāṁśur<sup>396</sup> nityāśvāsodyatair<sup>397</sup> janaiḥ // 11<sup>398</sup>  
 ekā mūrtir dvidhā kṛtvā bhūtaleśv avatāritā /  
 pratyuṣe caiva muṇḍīram ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt // 12<sup>399</sup>  
 na kadācid bhayaṁ śokaṁ rogam<sup>400</sup> teṣāṁ prapadyate / (13)  
 kālahṛt kālaprītyāṁ<sup>401</sup> ca madhyāhne ye tv avekṣakāḥ //<sup>402</sup>  
 teṣāṁ eva sukhodarko 'cireṇaiva prajāyate<sup>403</sup> / (14)  
 sāṁbakṛtapure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair udīkṣitah //<sup>404</sup>  
 sadyaḥ sampadyate teṣāṁ dharmakāmārthasādhanam / (15)  
 evam yuktīṁ samādhāya sarvadharmaṇāḥ //<sup>405</sup>  
 kīrtayitvā raveḥ kīrtīṁ jagmuḥ sūryālayam prati (// 16)  
 prajāpatīnām idam ālayam raver  
 vidhāyitam<sup>406</sup> devavarānukampitam /  
 vighātakās tatra patanty asādhavo  
 vahneḥ śikhāyāṁ śalabhā iva kṣaṇāt // 17<sup>407</sup>

## THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF THE *SĀMBA-PURĀNA*

SP. 84 (S. I. = 84) / Bh. I. 120

śrīsāṁba uvāca	viṣṇur uvāca
bhagavan <sup>408</sup> prāṇināḥ sarve	kuṣṭharogādyupadravaiḥ <sup>409</sup> /

<sup>395</sup> For dr̥syeta: Middle Indic form (cf. STIETENCRON 1966: 73); SII: dr̥set

<sup>396</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -āṁśum

<sup>397</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ity asau śodhyate; SII: nityāśvāsodyate

<sup>398</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 52

<sup>399</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 53

<sup>400</sup> SII: teṣāṁ rogā bhayaṁ śokā na kadācit prapadyate; SRIVASTAVA 2013: śoko rogasteṣāṁ

<sup>401</sup> SI: kālahṛt kālaprītyāś; kālaprīti stands for kālapriya. SRIVASTAVA 2013: kālaprītyā

<sup>402</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 54

<sup>403</sup> SI: sukhodarkād acireṇaiva jāyate; SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy acirenaiva jāyate

<sup>404</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 55

<sup>405</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 56

<sup>406</sup> STIETENCRON (1966) has *vidhāpitam*; I prefer SRIVASTAVA's (2013) *vidhāyitam*.

<sup>407</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: 57

<sup>408</sup> SI: bhagavān

<sup>409</sup> SI, SII: kuṣṭa-

bhagavan prāṇinah sarve  
 sadā sampīḍyamānās te  
 tiṣṭhanti munisattama // 1  
 yena karmavipākena  
 saṁbhavanti mahāmate /  
 tat sarvam śrotum icchāmi  
 tvatto brahmavidyāṁbara<sup>410</sup> // 2

nārada uvāca

vratopavāsair yair bhānur nānyajanmani toṣitah /  
 te narā yaduśārdūla  
 kuṣṭharogādibhāginaḥ // 3

sāmba uvāca

teṣām rogo paśamanaṁ  
 jāyate ca katham mune /  
 tat sarvam śrotum icchāmi  
 satyam satyam vadasva me // 4

nārada uvāca

śṛṇu sāmba mahābāho  
 kurvantu ravipūjanam /  
 yatkṛtvā sarvaroge bhyo  
 mucyate nātra saṁśayah // 5

<sup>410</sup> SI, SII: brahmavidāṁbara  
<sup>411</sup> Viṣṇu speaks to Brahmā.

viṣarogādyupadravaiḥ /  
 duṣṭagrahopaghātaiś ca  
 sarvakālam upadrutāḥ / 1  
 ābhicārikakṛtyābhīḥ  
 sparśarogaiś ca dāruṇaiḥ /  
 sadā sampīḍyamānās tu  
 tiṣṭhamtya ambuja sambhava<sup>411</sup> / 2  
 yena karmavipākena  
 viṣarogādyupadravāḥ /  
 prabhavaṁti nṛnāṁ tan me  
 yathāvad vaktum arhasi // 3

brahmovāca

te narā devaśārdūla  
 graharogādibhāginaḥ // 4

.....<sup>412</sup> .....

<sup>412</sup> Embellishments of the text.

sāmba uvāca

etat sarvam̄ tvyākhyātam̄  
vadhārtham̄<sup>413</sup> śrutivistaram̄ /  
ye śrutvā<sup>414</sup> sarvapāpebhyo  
mucyate nātra saṁśayah // 6  
sūryam uddiśya kim̄ deyam̄  
pāthakāya mahātmane /  
yena tuṣyet tu<sup>415</sup> bhagavān  
bhāskaraḥ pāpataskaraḥ // 7

nārada uvāca

śṛṇu sāmba mahābāho  
kathayāmi tavānagha /  
tam eva sūryam̄ vijñāya  
pūjyatvā yathāvidhi // 8  
gandhapuṣpākṣataiś caiva  
dhūpadīpais tathottamaiḥ /  
svarṇālamkāravastraiś ca  
śiroratnavibhūṣanaiḥ<sup>416</sup> // 9  
prapūjya sūryarūpam̄ tam̄  
deyā ca kapilā śubhā /  
godhūmayavadhānyāni  
māsamudgāms tilāṁs tathā // 10  
gajāśvamahiṣīr dadyād  
ratnāni<sup>417</sup> vividhāni ca /  
hiranyaṁ rajataṁ caiva

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<sup>413</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: bahvartham̄

<sup>414</sup> SI, SII: ya chrutvā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yac chrutvā

<sup>415</sup> SII: tuṣyamti

<sup>416</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: śiroralavibhūṣanaiḥ

<sup>417</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: ralāni

kāṁsyam tāṁrasya<sup>418</sup> bhājanam // 11

dāsadāsīs<sup>419</sup> tathā dadyād

bhūmīm sasyavatīm tathā /

paṭṭavastrāṇy anekāni

dadyād vai śuddhamānasah // 12

nikṣubhā ca tathā rājñī

dve bhārye hi<sup>420</sup> vivasvataḥ /

uddiśya te hi<sup>421</sup> deyāni

vastrālaṁkāraṇāni ca // 13

evaṁ yaḥ kurute bhaktyā

sa martyo 'tra mahītale<sup>422</sup> /

putrapautrādisamyukto

harṣanirbharamānasah // 14

bhūmktvā<sup>423</sup> tu sakalān bhogān

sūryaloke mahīyate / (14)

aṣṭādaśapurāṇānāṁ

śrāvane yat<sup>424</sup> phalam labhet<sup>425</sup> /

tat phalam samavāpnoti

satyam satyam vadāmi te<sup>426</sup> // 15

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<sup>418</sup> SRIVASTAVA 2013: kāṁsyatāṁrasya

<sup>419</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: dāsadāsyau

<sup>420</sup> SI: ca

<sup>421</sup> SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tāni

<sup>422</sup> SII: evaṁ sa tuṣyate yena pāvako hi mahītale

<sup>423</sup> SI: bhaktvā; SII: bhunktā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhuktvā

<sup>424</sup> SI: tat

<sup>425</sup> SII: bhavet

<sup>426</sup> SI: vadāmy aham; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vadāmyam

## 1.2 The Translation

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 72

Vasiṣṭā said:

Sumantu said:

9a Hear [the story] about the fallen one, o king, and about the removal [of his curse].

The lord called Durvāsa, known as a descendant of Rudra, being a wandering sage, wandered in the three worlds. Therefore, he reached Dvāratī, formerly known for being ruled by Madhu<sup>427</sup>. Sāmba, proud of his [beautiful] appearance, having seen the arrival of the Ṛṣi, red-eyed, starved and emaciated, deformed and very thin, did an imitation of his appearance and his gait. Having seen his face, Sāmba, proud of his youth, mimicked the crooked face of that man, o best of the Kurus; so Durvāsa, [he] of great splendour, the best of the Ṛṣis, [was] very angry.

The Bhagavān spoke to Sāmba: ‘Since you have seen my appearance, you, proud of your own appearance, have done the imitation of my gait and demeanour, you will contract leprosy soon.’

15

20

Bh. I. 66

Sāmba said:

[...]

The wise Durvāsa is furious that he was mocked by me, [who am] confused<sup>428</sup>; because of his curse, I have contracted leprosy. I, afflicted by leprosy, ashamed of [my] excessive arrogance, went to my father. I spoke thus: ‘Father, my body is afflicted and my voice abandons [me]. The black leprosy, of frightful appearance, wants to destroy me. I am afflicted by the king of all diseases because of my terrible act, and neither doctors nor herbs can give me any peace. For

<sup>427</sup> Literally 'pleasant, delightful, charming' (MW: 779, II), referring to Kṛṣṇa, who rules over the city of Dvāratī.

<sup>428</sup> Confusion is often mentioned as the main cause of happenings, especially in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*.

this reason, I ask your permission to leave this life. If I [am] favoured, you [will] allow me to depart.' This [was my] speech. [My] father, tormented by the pain of [his] son, having meditated 34 for a while, said these words to me: 'Son, seek refuge in [your] firmness. Do not set your mind on [your] affliction; do not let the disease, which fixes your mind on pain, destroy [you who are] afflicted by pain, like the fire [destroys] the dry grass. Do not abandon [yourself] to grief, little son, [but] to the highest worship of the divinity.' Thus he spoke, and I asked: 'Which god should I worship? Which [one] must I worship so that the disease will abandon me completely?'

.....

### SP. 3 / Bh. I. 73

Because of the (excessive) unavoidability of the future<sup>429</sup> and the memories of the past, the sage Durvāsa [was] furious. Sāmba, the great man, got [that] great curse, and through this curse was 52 produced the mace<sup>430</sup>, which made his family fall.

44

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<sup>429</sup> We find this expression several times in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. It is indeed the Purāṇa of the future (the name *Bhaviṣya* indicates the future), but in these sections it is often used to underline the unavoidability of Sāmba's curse and leprosy, which leads to his worship of the sun god.

<sup>430</sup> The story of the club is told in the sixteenth book of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Mausala-parvan* (for the printed edition, see BELVALKAR 1959: 3–43). "The Sixteenth Parvan of the Great Epic is intended to describe the havoc caused amongst the entire Vṛṣṇi and Bhoja clans by the mischievous attempt of Sāraṇa [...] and his Yādava colleagues, to dress up Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbavatī, as a woman *enceinte*, and pose the question to the worthy sages like Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, who had just come to Dvārakā [...] as to the would-be sex of the expected issue. The enraged sages reply that the issue is to be an iron-club (*musala*\*), which is fated to destroy the entire Yādava clan, including Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Halāyudha (= Balarāma) [...] The 'Iron-club' was born, presaging evil luck; and although it was reduced to powder and thrown into the ocean, out of it there was produced, in the near-by sea-water, the Sāveraka (= Śevarī) grass which — as it grew — was used by the Yādavas as a handy and fatal weapon [...]" BELVALKAR 1959 : XXX–XXXI

Anticipating the complete destruction all around, Kṛṣṇa sends his charioteer to summon Arjuna, who, after the tremendous fight and the submersion of Dvārakā itself, looks after the women of the city and leads them to Hastināpura.

The story of Durvāsa cursing Sāmba to give birth to the mace is mentioned also in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* X. 1. 12ff.; in *Mahābhārata* XVI.1. 15ff. and in *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* V. 37. 6ff. In the different versions, Sāmba is cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada (cf. Hazra 1952: 104).

## STAVARĀJA

SP. 25 / Bh. I. 128

Vasiṣṭha said:

Sumantu said:

1 So there Sāmba, emaciated, having veins strained like cords, celebrates, O king, the bringer of 1 the day, the thousand-rayed with a thousand names. Sūrya, having seen Kṛṣṇa's son mortify himself in that way, gave him another vision during his sleep, in which he spoke thus:

Sūrya said:

Lord Sūrya said:

‘Sāmba, Sāmba of great strength, listen to [me], son of Jāmbavatī. Recite this beautiful, appropriate praise with a thousand names! The secret names, means of purification and auspicious, I want to recite for you; having heard them, reflect upon them:

Om the Divider<sup>431</sup> (Vikartana)

the Brilliant One (Vivasvat)

the Dead Egg (Mārtanda)

the Light-Making (Bhāskara)

the Roaring One (Ravi)<sup>432</sup>

5 the World-Illuminator (Lokaprakāśaka)

5

the Venerable (Śrīmat)

the Eye of the World (Lokacakṣus)

the Lord of the Planets (Graheśvara)

the Witness of the World (Lokasākṣin)

the Lord of the Three Worlds (Trilokeśa)

the Maker (Kartṛ)

the Destroyer (Hartṛ)

the Destroyer of Darkness (Tamisrahan)

<sup>431</sup> Probably “the Divider of Clouds”, the sun. H. von STIETENCRON (1966 : 148) translates as „Der (Tag und Nacht) Teilende“.

<sup>432</sup> From the root *ru-* “to roar, bellow, howl, cry” (MW: 881, III), EWA: 439 RAV<sup>1</sup>: Gr. ὠρύομαι = „heule, brülle, klage“; Lat. *raucus*, *rūmor*. *Ravi* can be also the name of the number twelve (MW: 869, I).

the Shining (Tapana)  
 the Illuminator (Tāpana)  
 the Radiant (Śuci)  
 the Bearer of Seven Horses (Saptāśvavāhana)  
 the One Having Rays for Hands (Gabhastihasta)  
 the Absolute (Brahman)  
 the One Venerated by All Gods (Sarvadevanamaskṛta)

[These are] the twenty-one names. I always desire this praise. It heals the body's diseases, and also increases the property and confers glory. It is called *Stavarāja* (King of Praises) and it is known in the three worlds. [The person], o strong-armed [one], who humbly praises me at the two points of juncture [of the day], the setting and the rising of the sun, having done [this], he is released from all evils. And an evil action, [committed] with the body, with words or with

10 the mind, is destroyed in my presence, by the muttering [of the *Stavarāja*] once in its entirety. 10

[The *Stavarāja*] consists of the muttering of prayers, and the *homa*<sup>433</sup>, and also the worship performed at *Samdhyā*<sup>434</sup>, the *mantra* of the oblation, the *mantra* of the reception of a guest, as well as the *mantra* of incense. This great *mantra*, splendid, honoured by food offerings, bathing, prostration and *pradakṣina* (circumambulation), carries away all diseases<sup>435</sup>.

Thus said the Lord Bhāskara, master of the world, having addressed to Krṣṇa's son there, [and then] he disappeared.

So Sāmba, having prayed with the *Stavarāja* of the seven horses [became] pure-minded, free  
 14 from sickness, glorious, and from that, freed from disease.

14

---

<sup>433</sup> This could stand for the sacred juice itself or for the ceremony of the *haoma-/soma-*, in which it is pressed and offered to the divinity.

<sup>434</sup> MW: 1145, II: “the religious acts performed [...] at the above three divisions of the day, [...] which consists of sipping water, repetition of prayers and mantras, especially the Gāyatrī prayer [...].” It can be also related to the verb *saṃ-dhyai-* “to reflect or meditate on, think about” (MW: 1145, III) and it is also the twilight, also personified as the daughter of Brahmā, the consort of the sun (MW: 1145, II).

<sup>435</sup> The term *vyādhi-* especially refers to leprosy (MW: 1037, I).

## VIŚVAKARMAN

SP. 11 / Bh. I. 79

.....

Viśvakarman said:

36 This form of yours, filled with too much splendour, [is] quite intolerable. Samjñā<sup>436</sup>, incapable 47  
of bearing [it], lives in the grassy forest. Today, Lord, you will see your wife, of beautiful  
movements, who stays in the forest undertaking the highest penance because of your  
appearance.

I agree with Brahmā's speech; if you  
desire, o god, I can shape your beloved  
38 form today, o victorious [one].

As Brahmā said, if you desire, o powerful  
[one], I can break off your form, chief of  
the gods, for a superior purpose, lord of the  
earth.

49

(The form of Vivasvāt<sup>437</sup> was put  
horizontally, vertically, down and flat.

Because of that form, the god  
Divaspati<sup>438</sup> [was] really squeezed.)

He of Great Splendour was most delighted by his speech; so he allowed Tvaṣṭṛ to shape [his]  
form. [When] Viśvakarman [was] authorized by Vivasvāt, in Śākadvīpa, having fixed [him],  
turning round, he sharpened his splendour. Viśvakarman scratched [the sun's form] as far as  
the knee in a delicate manner. [The sun god] did not approve of scratching more than what  
40 [Viśvakarman] had [already] removed.

Having achieved that form, through the  
removal of the splendour,

There the wished form, with the expected  
splendour,

51

<sup>436</sup> She is Viśvakarman's daughter and one of Sūrya's wives; the story about her retirement to the forest because of the intolerable splendour of her husband is told in the epics and in the Purāṇas. BANERJEA (1974: 429– 430) connects this legend to the Vedic one (*Rgveda* I. 164) on the marriage between Saranyu, Tvaṣṭar's daughter, and Vivasvat, the solar god.

<sup>437</sup> Literally “shining forth” (MW: 987, I)

<sup>438</sup> Literally “lord of the day”; MW: 478, III “sky-lord”.

he made it (the form) the most beautiful among the beautiful ones and [he] embellished [it] much more. Having undertaken *yoga*, he (the sun god) saw his wife [in the form of] a mare<sup>439</sup>,  
44 surrounded with her own splendour, powerful, invincible for all beings. 55  
Mārtanḍa, [having assumed] the form of a horse, approached her with sexual intentions, [touching] her snout. She moved her limbs about the unknown man, fearlessly, [and] she vomited the semen of Vivasvat from her nostrils. [In this way] the two Aśvins, the great  
46 physicians, were born. 57

SP. 12 / Bh. I. 121

Sāmba said:

Śatanika said:

1 You have told [the story of] the honing of Bhānu's form concisely. I wish to listen to the 1  
extensive [version]; tell it to me, o virtuous [one].

Nārada said:

Sumantu said:

[When] Samjñā went to her father's house, o son of Yadu, Bhāskara thought, 'Waiting for my form [to be shaped], she the splendid went to her father's house to undertake the ascesis. For this reason I want to satisfy her wished desire.'

In the meantime, Brahmā, having gone there, [where] Divākara [was],  
said in a sweet voice, a speech inspiring 4 said a sweet speech, a beautiful [one],  
affection in Ravi: inspiring affection in Ravi: 3  
'You are the first god among the gods and this world is pervaded by you. Your father-in-law, Viśvakarman, will hone your form.'

Having said this to Ravi, Brahmā spoke to Viśvakarman: 'Hone the splendid form of Mārtanḍa.' So, [following] Brahmā's advice, having set Bhāskara on a turner's lathe, Viśvakarman gradually shaped [his] form. Then Brahmā [was] satisfied, with the troops of gods, the various  
8 secret *stotras*, the *Vedas*, the *Vedāngas*, and the *Saṅmitras*. 7

<sup>439</sup> In Indian imagery, the horse/mare is a symbol of kingship. Here it is even more relevant, because it is linked to the sun god, whose typical attributes are the horses.

Sāmba said:

Śatānīka said:

1 Tell me once again the story related to Sūrya. I have not reached satisfaction in listening to this 1 beautiful story.

Nārada said:

Sumantu said:

I will tell you the divine story of Āditya, [a story which] causes the destruction of all evils, and which has formerly been told by Brahmā, the creator of the world. The Ṛṣis heated and bewildered by the brilliance of Sūrya's rays, asked the Pitāmaha (Brahmā) in Brahmā's world.

The Ṛṣis said:

Who is this shining [one], of great brilliance, having equal splendour of strings of fire? This we 4 hope to hear. What is his origin, o lord? 4

Brahmā said:

When everything inanimate and animate [was] covered by darkness and [was] destroyed, thanks to the movement of the *guṇas*, the *buddhi* (intellect) was born; then the *ahamkāra* (self-consciousness), which sets in motion the great elements, was born: the wind, the fire, the water 7 and the earth. After that, the egg was born, and in this egg there were the seven worlds, the 7 earth, the seven *dvīpas* and the seven oceans. Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and I were standing there, confused by the splendour, all meditating upon the supreme lord. After that, an inconceivable great splendour, the sun<sup>440</sup>, appeared; through a profound meditation, we knew Savitṛ. Having each recognized, one by one, the supreme *ātman*, the gods started to praise with divine prayers: 'You are the first god among the gods, the lord of the lords; you are the creator of the creatures, 11 the god of gods, Divākara.'

11

<sup>440</sup> Literally *tamonuda-* means “dispersing darkness” (MW: 438, II).

The praised lord stood in [his] shining form, and said [his] beautiful speech: ‘Which boon do you want me to grant for you?’

Brahmā said:

Nobody would be able to bear your excessively shining form; make it endurable to those desirous, o lord of the world. “Let it be,” said the Bhagavān, the day-maker, the almighty, who causes heat, rain, cold and frost, for the sake of satisfying the world. Because of this, the followers of Samkhya, the followers of Yoga and others desirous of liberation meditate, 30 engaged in contemplation, and Divākara is constantly in their hearts. [A person who] has abandoned all virtues, or who has come into contact with all sins, is set free from all evil dwelling by the god Arka. The *Agnihotra*, the *Vedas* and the *Yajñas* [even] marked by many donations, do not deserve a sixteenth part of the devoted adoration of Bhānu. The supreme *tīrtha* among the *tīrthas*, the [supreme] welfare among the welfares, the [supreme] mean of purification among the means of purification, I bow down to Divākara. The men who honour Bhāskara, celebrated by Brahmā and the other gods, 29  
they are free from all guilt<sup>441</sup>, and proceed 33 to Sūrya’s world. they are free from all guilt, and go to Ravi’s dwelling. 32

.....

SP. 15 / Bh. I. 123

Sāmba said:

Śatānīka said:

How was the scarification of Bhanu’s body carried out by the gods and the Ṛṣis? Please tell me about this.

Nārada said:

Sumantu said:

In Brahmā’s world, the Ṛṣis, along with the gods and the Asuras, having approached Brahmā, [who was] comfortably seated, they all said together: ‘O lord, the son of Aditi,

<sup>441</sup> *Kilbiṣa*- can also mean “disease” (MW: 284, II); this would bring back once again to the sun as the healer of diseases.

who rules over the sky, [also] known as Mārtāṇḍa, of intense brilliance, of great 3 splendour, how do you perceive, O Powerful, the complete world, [made of] inanimate and animate things, being distressed by his splendour, without a protector? We are frightened and 5 bewildered by his splendour, too. In the sky, on the earth, in the atmosphere (*antarikṣa-*) we do not get shelter.' Thus spoke, the Lord having a lotus as sit said:

6 'Together we will take refuge in that god!' So [together] with Prajāpati, all began to praise him at once; he was rising from the east, like the ornamental crest of the Śailarāja<sup>443</sup>.

Brahmā said:

8a Honour to you, best among the gods, of intense brilliance.

[thanks to whom] the darkness was cut off [and] no harm approaches, called Jājvalati<sup>442</sup>; o lord of the gods, like a 36 damaged river bank, we are all afflicted and confused by his splendour, like this weak lotus, which traces his origin to you, o powerful [one]. So ensure that [his] splendour decreases, o older of the gods (Brahmā).' Thus spoke and the lotus-born lord Prajāpati.

Lord Brahmā said to the gods led by Viṣṇu, with Mahādeva, Indra and Mahātman:

So all the gods together, with Brahmā, 41 Viṣṇu and the others, went to the refuge, Bhāskara, the illuminator of the world. Bowed down together in devotion, let's all worship the head and the other parts of the divinity, all [of us] living in devotion (*bhakti-*) [to the god].

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Iśa said:

Honour to you, best among the gods, [one who is] truly [the] celebrated [one]. The apathetic ones, the blind, the mute, and deaf ones, the lepers and the affected by white leper, the blind ones,<sup>444</sup> [those who

<sup>442</sup> From the verb *jval-* “to burn, glaze, shine” (MW: 428, II).

<sup>443</sup> Name of the Indrakīla mountain (see MW: 1090, I).

<sup>444</sup> Repetition of the term *amṛda-*.

are] covered with perforating ulcers, you always make them renewed. For this reason we honour you, of great compassion.

.....  
.....

In this way the gods, with Prajāpati (Brahmā) at the fore, praised the lord; after having reflected, the lord approached them and said:

‘This hymn [has been] carried out and [well] executed regularly; O gods, tell me immediately the supreme speech: What can I 16 do myself?’

‘Viśvakarman, following your instructions, will make [your form] more gentle.’ 54b

Having obtained his approval, the gods [were] really delighted in their minds; they started to pray to Tvaṣṭṛ, by the actions of their minds, words and body. So Viśvakarman, the one who regulates all the works, placing Vibhāvasu, that mass of splendour, on the lathe, gradually honed the splendour of the disc of the One sprinkled with *amṛta* and glorified by the celestial singers.

And he was scratched as far as the knee by the gods, the Asuras and the great serpents; [the sun] did not approve the scratching, so 20 he was removed from there.

And he was scratched as far as the knee, praised by the gods and the Asuras; the god did not approve the delineation [of his shape] in that way. 57

So, from that moment, the feet of the god [have been] always covered.<sup>445</sup>

Then, the splendour [with which the sun was] endowed, [became] warm and pleasant; and with the surplus of his splendour a discus was built, with which Viṣṇu, [him] of unmeasured strength,

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<sup>445</sup> In the northern iconography of the sun, the god often wears a long tunic, which covers his feet (cf. paragraph 2.3).

[defeated] the terribly cruel Dānavas<sup>446</sup>; and a pin, a spear, a mace, a *vajra*, a bow, an axe — the great-minded Viśvakarman having built [these weapons], gave them to the gods.

[The person] who mutters the *stotra*, originating from Brahmā's mouth, at both the times of transition<sup>447</sup>,

24 he purifies [his] family and he is not hurt by any disease<sup>448</sup>.

[The person] who mutters the *stotra*, created by the three gods, at both the times of transition,

He will [have] progeny, the fulfilment of his actions, and he would live a hundred years; he [would be] unsurpassed everywhere in children and richness, and once his life breath has left, he would obtain the world of Savitṛ.

and having left the abode of all living beings, he would go to Sūrya's dwelling.

.....

With the surplus of his splendour, which were fifteen parts, the great *ātman* made a spear for Śarva (= Śiva); the violent discus of Viṣṇu, of the Vasus and of Śamkara; the lance of Sañmukha (= Skanda) and Dhanada (= Kubera)'s *sibikā*<sup>449</sup>; and all the other terrible weapons of Asuras' enemies (= the gods), and of the Yakṣas and the Vidyādhara (= Śiva's attendants); Viśvakarman made 80 them all. So the Lord Ravi bears sixteen parts; fifteen parts of his splendour were cut off by Viśvakarman. In that way Bhānu, well-formed, went to Uttarakuru<sup>450</sup>, and there he saw Samjñā, having the form of a mare.

<sup>446</sup> *Dānava*-: “a class of demons often identified with the Daityas or Asuras and held to be the implacable enemies of the gods or devas” (MW 474, III).

<sup>447</sup> The two times of the day in which the sun must be worshipped are dawn and sunset; in some traditions, devotees also worship the god at midday, at the pinnacle of his splendour.

<sup>448</sup> We once again find the remark that the sun removes diseases.

<sup>449</sup> This is the particular weapon of Kubera, the god of wealth; it literally means ‘platform’ or ‘palanquin’.

<sup>450</sup> One of the nine divisions of the world (MW 178, II).

## SECOND GROUP OF TEXTS FROM THE *SĀMBA-PURĀNA*

SP. 4 / Bh. I. 74

Bṛhadbala said:

Śatānīka said:

If Sūrya was installed by Sāmba on the Candrabhāga's bank, from that moment is that not the  
1 sacred place, as it was told by you? 1

Vasiṣṭha said:

Sumantu said:

That is the first place built by Sāmba in the West. Listen to me, I am telling you [the story]  
diffusely.

O chief of men, that god, the lord of worlds, the ruler of the earth, who is encircled with rays,  
the absolute, having no beginning nor end, perpetual and imperishable, having created all the  
4 Prajāpatis, and the creatures of various sorts, standing in [his] Mitra form, practiced austerities. 4

From his mouth, [he]<sup>451</sup> had previously emanated a god similar to a lotus; then Kamjaja created a god from his breast, o prince; from his forehead, o tiger of the Kurus, [he created] [the one] having a lotus-eye, dressed with space; the Ṛbhus<sup>452</sup> were all produced by that great *ātman* from his feet.

Then the thousand-rayed, indistinct [one], the *Puruṣa* himself, the twelve fold being, was born  
6 from Aditi: Indra, Dhāṭṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu and Amṛśu, 8  
Varuṇa and Mitra. With these twelve forms Sūrya, the great *ātman*, pervaded the entire world.  
The first form of Āditya is known as Indra:

<sup>451</sup> It is not clear whether it is Brahmā or the sun god who creates these gods. Based on the previous lines, in which the sun is undertaking asceticism while Brahmā is creating the creatures, it is plausible to think that, even in this first line, Brahmā is the creator. In the second line of the Bh., the creator is Kamjaja, a general epithet of Brahmā.

<sup>452</sup> VETTAMMĀNI (1979: 647) defines the Ṛbhus as a 'group of divine beings who attained divinity by performing *tapas*. Aṅgiras, the son of Brahmā had a son named Sudhanvā. Sudhanvā had three children, Ṛbhukṣan, Vibhvan and Vāja. These three persons form the Ṛbhus as mentioned in the Rgveda 1st *maṇḍala*, 16 *anuvāka*, 111 *sūkta*.'

<sup>452</sup> MW 480, III: f. 'preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony, undertaking religious observances for a particular purpose and the observances themselves'.

it abides in the divine kingship, it is the ruler of the gods.

it abides in the divine kingship, it is the ruler of the *Dānavas* and the *Asuras*.

The second form of Ārka is celebrated with the name Dātr̄:

9 it abides in the kingship over creatures, and it creates the manifold beings.

11

The third form of Ārka is famous as Parjanya:

it abides in the clouds and it rains with rays of light.

it abides in the rays of light and it rains *amṛta*.

His fourth form is known as Pūṣan:

it is embedded in food and it constantly feeds the creatures.

His fifth form is famous by the name Tvaṣṭ̄:

12 it abides into the *soma* plant and in all the plants.

it abides constantly in the *soma* plants and in the [other] plants.

14

The sixth form of Ravi is celebrated as Aryaman, because it moves the air (*vāyu*) and it abides in the bodies.

because it is contained in creatures, and always stays in the bodies.

The seventh form of Bhānu is known by the name Bhaga:

it resides on the earth, in the bodies of the living beings.

it resides on the earth and in the mountains, o Bhārata.

His eighth form is famous as Vivasvān:

15 it abides in fire and cooks food for living beings.

17

The ninth form of Citrabhānu is called Viṣṇu: it constantly becomes manifest, [it is] the destroyer of the foes of the gods.

The ninth form of Citrabhānu is called Amṛśu: it stays in the moon, o hero, and makes the world increase.

His tenth form is known as Amṛsumat: it lives in the wind and it refreshes the creatures.

His tenth form is considered Viṣṇu: it manifests constantly as the destroyer of the enemies of the gods.

The eleventh form of Bhānu is known as Varuṇa: it supports the entire world and it resides in 18 the waters. (Varuṇa indeed stays in the water; he abides in the ocean; for this reason one ocean is called Varuṇālaya — Varuṇa's dwelling).

20

The twelfth form of Bhānu is famous by the name Mitra: for the sake of mankind, it stays on the shore of the river Candrabhāgā;

eating only air, he<sup>453</sup> practices austerity and  
he stays [there] with [his] Mitraic eye.

He always receives devotees with multiform boons.

In this way Sāmba built the first [sacred] place in the west; because Mitra is settled there, it is  
22 known as Mitravana — Mitra's forest.

eating only air, it practices austerity,  
furnished with its Mitraic eye.

24

After having honoured [the god], o long-  
armed [one], Sāmba, [he] of boundless  
glory, with his (the god's) favour and  
under his instruction, accomplished his  
installation.

25

With those twelve forms,

Savitṛ of great *ātman*

Bhāskara of great *ātman*

pervaded the entire world, o ruler of men. For this reason, devoted men should constantly pray  
to him in his twelve forms, with their souls directed towards him.

26

The men, completely possessed by  
devotion (*bhakti*), worship Āditya and  
they will go to the supreme place where  
the lord of the lotus dwells.

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<sup>453</sup> In the list of the twelve forms, this is the only case in which the form (*mūrti*, f.) has a male connotation; the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (29, 2–3) states that the sun's statue with a human form is the first example of the sun god not being represented with a circle or a disc (cf. PALLADINO 20??a).

Mankind, having known the twelvefold Āditya, having constantly prayed and recited, rise to the Sūryaloka — the world 24 of the sun.

The one who worships the twelvefold *ātman*, he is released from all evils and goes to the same world as the sun.

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## SP. 42

Vasiṣṭha said:

1 Having built the temple and having taken the Yājakas<sup>454</sup> [there], the virtuous [ones] (*dharmaātman*-) approached [the place] in which Ravi stood. Having heard about Mitravana, the gods, the men, the serpents (*pannaga*-), the Ṛṣis, the Siddhas, the Vidyādhras, the Gandharvas, the snakes (*uraga*-) and the Guhyakas, the guardians of a quarter of the sky (*dikpāla*-), the guardians of the world (*lokapāla*-), the planets (*graha*-), the Yakṣas<sup>455</sup>, the virtuous ones (*dhārmika*-), [along] with the Prajāpatis, all requite [his] favour by going [there]. Some [of them gone] beyond fasting, some following [him] in [their] souls (*ātman*-); some [of them] following the secret threefold path, some completely possessed by muttering; some [of them] carrying a wooden bow, some directed towards all goals; some having the established food, others having no food [at all]; they went, engaged in the meditation on Ravi, having 5 abandoned the worries of rebirth, some [of them] having fasted half of the month, towards the jump into the *ātman*. Having reached the salt ocean in short time, and having seen the delightful Tapovana on [the shore of] the salt ocean, bearing various flowers and fruits, visited by gods and Gandharvas, the Ṛṣis approached respectfully, having abandoned the path<sup>456</sup> forever. Having seen the delightful Tapovana, celebrated on Earth for being similar to the unsurpassed world of Ravi, they were all pleased; the agreeable [Tapovana], which assists all creatures in all actions, a joyful dwelling for all living beings, built by Viśvakarman.

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<sup>454</sup> In the *Sāmba-purāṇa* the generic term *Yājaka*- is often preferred to *Bhojaka*- (see Hazra 1958: 96).

<sup>455</sup> H. von STIETENCRON (1966: 162) translates *dhārmikāḥ* as if it were an attribute of *yakṣāś*: ‘die rechtlichen Yakṣas’.

<sup>456</sup> The idea of leaving the path is both literal, because they have just arrived at the sun’s dwelling, and metaphorical, for they have forever abandoned the samsāric path in their devotion to the sun god. If we take it in a literal way, it is possible to translate, ‘[...] the Ṛṣis (having reached the sun’s dwelling) sat in a circle, having abandoned the path forever.’

Vasiṣṭha said:

Even the wise Nārada constantly recites this *śāstra*: ‘You are the virtuous Sāmba, illustrious, accompanied by devotion, Yādava; endowed with such qualities, you have built an eternal image [of the god]. Thanks to Sāvitṛ’s grace, we see Tapovana.’ Having heard that pure speech, the supremely virtuous Sāmba, turning his face towards the ground, thus spoke to the god: ‘I previously mentioned the supreme place, in your vicinity, [which I have] built thanks to you favour to me and [your] conferring benefits [coming from] my worship (*pūjā*). O excellent Vibhāvasu, tell me, [who am] mourning, something more; my body, my senses and life-breath [have] weakened, with the excessively cheerful pray.’

16 Having got to know Sāmba, accompanied by devotion (*bhakti*), the god said: ‘Abandon the anxiety about my place, which confers fame, o son of Yadu! Listen to the benevolence (*prasāda*) I previously expressed in my speech, o Yādava. Formerly ascetic Manus, on the shore of the salt ocean, suffered pains for over a century, wishing [to have] my favour. Seeing those ascetics, compassion arose in my heart. ‘Say, dear sons, which rule, which speech and which support, connected to the unsurpassed aims of *satya*, *dharma* and *artha*, shall I bestow?’ Having heard such pure speech aroused from Devavaktra<sup>457</sup>, the men were delighted and with joyful souls and minds [said]: ‘If the pleased lord intends to give us a boon, let us stay firmly in your devotion (*bhakti*), o shining god!’ ‘Let it be so’ said the Lord, the all-pervading day-maker. ‘Now wish for another boon, o men!’ Once more satisfied, o Sāmba, [the men], having all the *dharma*s as their final aim, with overjoyed wide-open eyes, longed for the best boon.

The sages said:

If you of great brilliance, pleased, intends to give us a[nother] boon, through your splendour, make us creators.<sup>458</sup>”

Vasiṣṭha said:

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<sup>457</sup> MW 494, II: n. “the mouth of the gods”, N. of Agni as the devouring flame.

Here the name clearly refers to the sun god, but in the literature, the names of these two gods are often treated as interchangeable: Agni is also the sun, burning in the sky, and *vice versa*, the sun is Agni, burning the oblations for the gods.

<sup>458</sup> The Manus are the progenitors of the human race.

26 The great Mahātejas said again, ‘Let it be so. You will create a multitude of people.<sup>459</sup> Listen to [what] I say, another cause of glory: [I will make of] this Tapovana a beautiful unsurpassed place.’

Having heard such a pure statement, they said to the Day-maker (*Divākara*), ‘O god, we are completely surrounded by your splendour, [and] we obtain the supreme aim of glory; enlighten us, o Day-maker!

Having approached this place, we have crossed [the sea of life], o chief of gods, and for the sake of other creatures’ welfare (and for our own favour), we will bring the glory here through your splendour, o Bhāskara.’

The god said:

30 ‘I gave you my place, which is rare in the seven *dvīpas*. Now you will be famous for one Manvantara<sup>460</sup>. There the Siddhas, with the Gandharvas and the other best of the gods [will] all be delighted in my place, a higher place than which has never been spoken about.’

.....

### **SP. 43**

Vasiṣṭha said:

In that place Tapovana, on the shore of the salt ocean, the ones who arrived stay, longing for a vision of the god. Some [of them] meditate with pure minds, others with [their] minds towards him; they worship [him] with oblations and meditate, having *ātman* as their highest aim. The Siddhas and the Gandharvas sing [while] the beautiful Apsaras dance. Some have a *vinā* in their hands, others an offer for the guests<sup>461</sup>; some do the *añjali*, and others bow their heads. The Yogins [have] [their] minds on *yoga*, and the sages [have] restrained minds; the Ṛṣis [are] full of peace (*śānti*-), the gods praise Bhāskara. The Yātudhānas<sup>462</sup>, as well as the Yakṣas, the

<sup>459</sup> The speech has the same structure of the former conversation between Sāmba and the sun (cf. SP. 24, 24–28 / Bh. I. 127, 23–27).

<sup>460</sup> MW 786, III: n. “the period or age of a Manu”.

<sup>461</sup> *argha-* (MW 89, III): m. “respectful reception of a guest (by the offering of rice, *durva*-grass, flowers, or often only of water)”.

<sup>462</sup> MW 849, II: m. “a kind of evil spirit or demon”.

Siddhas and the Mahoragas (the Great Serpents), the guardians of a quarter of the sky (*dikpāla-*), the guardians of the world (*lokapāla-*), and the destroyers of obstacles, they, having attained 6 the supreme devotion (*bhakti-*), all stayed in Sūryakānana<sup>463</sup>. Weakened in [their] bodies, senses and life-breaths, [having] the worship of the god [as their] supreme aim, tortured by the ulterior pain of being awake [for a long time], tormented by the journey, they all stayed absorbed in praying, waiting for the rising of the sun. There, early in the morning, with a ruby-red light, all the directions of the earth [became] bright, illuminated by the rays of Ravi; the ocean, the sky and the ground became the reddish colour of Ravi. At the same moment all [the things] came [to be] one flame. At the moment of its rise, one place must be praised by all, [consisting in] the extraordinary shining form of the day-maker. The [solar] disc (*maṇḍala-*) rose twice, once in the sky and once in the ocean: the other image of the lord shone forth in middle of the waters<sup>464</sup>. All the Manus, set free from pride, having seen the extraordinary appearance, descended to the great ocean, moving their arms; having taken [the image] with [their] arms, having brought [it] to Tapovana, and having installed [it] according to the rules, the Manus, rejoicing in [their] minds, praised [it] with various *stotras* equally furnished with Āṅgas and *Upāṅgas*:

16 ‘O god, you are annihilation, time, decay, shattering, the fire of destruction, [you are] the origin, sustenance and destruction; the creatures were born from your limbs; [you are] dryness, rain, frost, heat, joy, happiness and coolness; o god, you are the creator, the *Prakṛti* and the *Puruṣa*, the lord. [You are] self-supported, supportless, and also Chāyā and Samjñā<sup>465</sup> stand by you; [you are] the shelter of all living beings; my devotion will always be to you. O god, with your eye<sup>466</sup> [pointing] in all directions, going everywhere in every moment, all-bestowing, all-knowing, everything, honoured by everyone, you [are] the destroyer of pain. O god, you are the [object of] meditation for the meditators, the highest *yoga* for the Yogins. You [are] the giver of all the fruits of the month, the daily remover of evil, omnipresent, the destroyer of pain, imperishable, the producer, the compassion, and the powerful. [You have] the skill of compassion, abiding on Earth, full of pity, having the form of the sun. O god, you [have] the 22 form of creation, destruction and conservation [of the world], [you are] the sovereign of the gods; [you are] the rain, the drought, the burnt, the frost, [you have] the nature of fire. [As a]

<sup>463</sup> The “forest of Sūrya” = Mitravana. Koṇārka?

<sup>464</sup> This statement is in contradiction with the first chapters of the *Sāmba-purāṇa*, in which the story of Sāmba finding the sun’s statue is narrated (cf. HAZRA 1958: 72). This represents the clear exemplification of the composite nature of the Purāṇic material.

<sup>465</sup> The two wives of the sun god.

<sup>466</sup> Cf. Mitra’s eye.

Yogin, [you] destroy the pains of the devotees, you are honoured in the form of *yoga*. O god, [you are] the happiness in the heart, the crest-gem, the jewel of splendour; [you are] the teacher, the pupil, the [one] absorbed in meditation, the one who eclipses and the nature of eclipse. O god, you [are] the fixed rule, the proper behaviour, the one who behaves properly, the increase of proper behaviour; irregular, regular, fixed, you are honoured in the form of rule (*nyāya*-). O god, you protect [the ones who have] attained, and you guard the [ones who] stay in the foaming ocean, and [you] raise the people tormented with fear. Honour to you, the eye of the world.<sup>467</sup> You are tamer and untameable, and the accomplishment of [things that have to] be accomplished; you, free from relations, [are] the relation [itself], [and you are] celebrated having the form of Bandhu (Relation).

Grant us peace, [you who are] the abode of compassion, o brilliant lord of the world, if our  
28 speech is convenient and dear [to you], o powerful [one].'

Thus having prayed, they all asked Ravi's image:

'By whom was your image constructed? By whom were you established? In which manner did you come here? O god, remove this doubt from us.'

The god said:

At that time, Viśvakarman, under instruction, made [my form] for the sake of the whole world; it [was] celebrated by all the gods. On the top of the Himavat, it was carved in the Kalpa tree, and from there it entered the Candrabhāgā [for] the foundation of the sacred place (*sthāna*-). And from the Chandrabhāgā [it moved to] the Vipāśa<sup>468</sup>, and from the Vipāśa to the Śatadrava<sup>469</sup>; from the Śatadrava it moved to the famous river Yamunā and from the Yamunā to the Jāhnavī (= Gaṅgā); it was gradually brought near. From the Bhāgīrathi<sup>470</sup> it is known to [have flown] to the great river Modaganga — that is known as the best of the *tīrthas* for gaining my favour — in order that the Modaganga could flow towards the salt ocean. And now, best of the Manus, undertake my correct installation!

The gods, having heard the pure speech [which] increases joy, bowed and doing the *añjali*, stood as devotees (*bhūtāḥ*) by Ravi, praying. Thence the wise Vaivasvata<sup>471</sup>, who sets in motion

<sup>467</sup> This is a clear reference to Mitra.

<sup>468</sup> MW 974, III: f. "the Vipāśa or Beas river (one of the five rivers of the Panjab [...])."

<sup>469</sup> MW 1049, II, *śatadru*-: f. "flowing in a hundred (or numerous) branches", N. of a river now called the Sutlej [...]. The five rivers of Panjab are listed here.

<sup>470</sup> MW 751, III: f. "N. of the Ganges (or of one of the three main streams or branches of it, viz. the great western branch".

<sup>471</sup> MW 1026, I: n. "N. of the seventh or present Manv-antara". He is the son of Vivasvat, the sun.

all the *dharma*s, inspired, built the beautiful residence of the god Ravi. The best of the gods, having placed Ravi in the three [sacred] places with devotion (*bhakti*), having as [their] only aim service to the god as a meritorious act, went to liberation. They, the virtuous, go to cessation, having their duties to the god as their highest aim, all having nothing beyond *dīkṣā*<sup>472</sup>, longing for Bhāskara's injunction, through which they made the supreme *maṇḍala*, the divine shaped *maṇḍala*. All the head-born creatures, with their interior *ātmans* primed for this [purpose], [performed] the action connected with the sun, according to the rule declared by Bhāskara, after Viśvakarman had given his consent. Then, with the hair on the backs of their necks raised in excessive joy, they had to name it. Since they were all bald, they called it Muṇḍīra. Then, having achieved their purpose, [they were] designated by the knowers of roots; since the source was established in the killing of a bald person (*muṇḍi-*), [and] since [he] may

42 kill from a long distance, he was called Muṇḍīra.

Vasiṣṭha said:

‘So, in every *yuga*, this is known as the first [sacred] place, the destroyer of all evils, auspicious, the beautiful [one] among all my *tīrthas*.’ Men who know the pains of devotion (*bhakti-*) in this world, who arrived in that place and request [liberation], they are instantly set free. Those unreasonable [people], who fell into this *tīrtha* in the[ir] great confusion, there is not any stability in these successes, [even] if [the stability], which is difficult to achieve, is obtained.

As long as the sun shines, the salt ocean [exists] and the gods support the earth, the glory of

(48) Vibhāvasu [will last]. And the men [who] were born on this earth joined to evil, and come together in that place, Ravi will be their protector. (In this manner, this form of the sun is always honoured by wise men; a god [should] wish for your glory and fortune; what else could people

6 desire on earth?)

All the gods are settled in the place of the lord of gods; it is peace, prosperity, joy and pleasure, and the destroyer of the pain of all beings. This is precisely that fame which has been told of previously by the sages. Those men who see the image of the rising sun placed there, they [become] pure, they set [their] *ātman* free and [make] their family thrive. Every time a man undertakes an action in the land of Sūrya, he will obtain success, here and elsewhere. The great *dvīpa* Jambūdvīpa [is the] unsurpassed region of religious actions; there such a glory has been announced by the [sun] god himself; there the thousand-rayed [one] shows the people [how to]

<sup>472</sup> MW 480, III: f. “preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony, undertaking religious observances for a particular purpose and the observances themselves”.

undertake their own recovery. [His] single form, having been made twofold, has been taken down on earth; early in the morning, the men who see Muṇḍīra in [its] first [place], they will never be afflicted by any fear, sorrow or disease. And at midday<sup>473</sup>, at the [moment of] the sun<sup>474</sup>'s joy, those who look at Kālahṝt, an instantaneous happiness is born in them. At eventide, those who behold Sūrya, in the city built by Sāmba, at that very moment they succeed in the 15 fulfilment of *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*.<sup>475</sup> [Those who want to] achieve this connection, having [the accomplishment] of all *dharma*s as their final aim, having celebrated the glory of Ravi, they go towards Sūrya's dwelling. This dwelling of Ravi, which grants [boons] and [represents] the compassion of the supreme god, [is for] the Prajāpatis; the wicked ones who [create] hindrances there, they fall in a moment, like a moth [falls] in the flame of fire.

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## THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF THE *SĀMBA-PURĀNA*

SP. 84 / Bh. I. 120

The glorious Sāmba said:

O Lord, all living beings are oppressed by leprosy and other [diseases].

They are always tormented, o best of sages, and it occurs because of the ripening of

Viṣṇu said:

O Lord, all living beings are oppressed by sickness from being poisoned and other [diseases], and the weakness [derived] from [the influence of] a malevolent planet, always persecuted by the practice of spells and by contact illness<sup>476</sup>. 1

They are always tormented, o lotus-born [one]. The calamities of the sickness

<sup>473</sup> Midday is one of the three (in some traditions two) moments at which the sun must be worshipped by his devotees. The central part of the day may also be related to the central position of Mit(h)ra, the mediator. For sure, the highest peak of the sunlight represents the moment of the sun god's maximum power.

<sup>474</sup> Here the sun is called *Kāla*, Time; sometimes we also find the name *Kālahṝt*. The sun-time relation is clearly very close and significant; STIETENCRON (1996: 266) has pointed out a possible relation with Zurvan, the Iranian god of time. On the sun-time relation cf. also CHENET (1993: 339).

<sup>475</sup> The three aims a Hindu man should pursue in his life.

<sup>476</sup> Skr. *sparsaroga-*; I did not find mention of this disease either in FILLIOZAT 1975 or in other works, like for instance JOLLY 1977.

actions [from past lives], o great-minded  
2 [one]. Please tell me about all this.

derived from poison and other [diseases]  
rule over men, because of the ripening of  
the actions [of their past lives]. Please tell  
me [abou this] properly.

Nārada said:

O tiger of the Yadus, those men are afflicted  
by leprosy and other [diseases] because in  
their life they have not satisfied Bhānu with  
fasting and religious obligations.

Brahmā said:

O tiger of the gods, those men afflicted by  
the sickness coming from the planets and  
other [diseases] ...

4

Sāmba said:

O wise [one], and how is the mitigation of these diseases  
achievable? I wish to know all about this. Please tell me  
the entire truth.

Nārada said:

Listen, long-armed Sāmba, let's worship Ravi! Having  
done this, one will be set free from all diseases, without  
5 any doubt.

Sāmba said:

You have said all this about the way to destroy [evils] with  
an abundancy of detail. He who has listened to it will be  
undoubtedly free from all the evils. Which tribute [shall be  
given], in the name of Sūrya, to the great-souled reciter,  
7 with which the lord sun god, thief of sins, will be satisfied?

Nārada said:

Listen to me, long-armed Sāmba, [and what I] tell you, o sinless [one]. One has to know and worship Sūrya by means of fragrant flowers, unhusked barley-corns, as well as the best incense and lights, clothes with golden 9 decorations, head-gems and ornaments. To honour Sūrya's image, [one should give] gifts and a beautiful Kapilā cow, wheat, barley and corn, beans<sup>477</sup> and sesame seeds; elephants, horses and female buffalos are to be given, and manifold gems, gold, silver, white copper and a vessel of red coppery. One should give male and female slaves, as well as a territory bearing a rich crop; many kinds of 12 clothes should be given with a pure mind. Vivasvat has two wives, Nikṣubhā and Rājñī; for their propitiation, [one should give] clothes and ornaments. The one who does this with devotion (bhakti-) here on earth he will be full of sons, grandsons etc. and his mind full of great joy. Having tasted complete enjoyment in the world of Sūrya (Sūryaloka), he will gain the fruit of knowledge coming from the eighteen Purāṇas. He will gain that fruit; I am telling [you] the entire 15 truth.

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<sup>477</sup> SHASTRI 1969: 265 lists the pulses cultivated in India and names the *mudga-*, the *Phraseolus Mungus* and the *māṣa-* (we should note the absence of retroflexion in the text), or *Phraseolus Radiatus*.

## 1.3 The Other Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*

In the previous paragraphs, we have dealt with the *Sāmba-* and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, in which we find the principal sections of literature regarding the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. They are mentioned also in other Purāṇas and in the *Mahābhārata*; in some cases, they are just listed; in others, an explanation of their social status is provided.

### • AGNI-PURĀṇA 119

*magā magadhamanasyā mandagāśca dvijātayah /  
yajanti sūryyarūpam tu śākah kṣīrābdhinā vṛtaḥ // 21*

20–21. [...] The brahmins and others are Maga, Magadha, Mānasa and Mandaga. They worship (the lord) in the form of the sun. The Śāka *dvīpa* is surrounded by the Kṣīrābdhi.

GANGADHADAN 1985: 352

### • BRAHMA-PURĀṇA 20 (Ed. Shastri 18, 71)

*magāś ca māgadhāś cauva mānasā mandagāś tathā  
magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhā māgadhāḥ kṣatriyāś tu te // 71  
vaiśyāś tu mānasāś teṣāṁ śūdrā jñeyāś tu mandagāḥ  
śākadvīpe sthitair viṣṇuh sūryarūpadharo hariḥ // 72  
yathoktair ijyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ  
śākadvīpas tato viprāḥ kṣīrodena samantataḥ // 73  
śākadvīpapramāṇena valayeneva veṣṭitaḥ  
kṣīrābdhiḥ sarvato viprāḥ puṣkarākhyena veṣṭitaḥ // 74*

71–74. The four Varṇas are Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas. The Magas are brahmias [sic!]; Magadhas are Kṣatriyas; Mānasas are Vaiśyas and Mandagas are Śūdras.

Viṣṇu, who has assumed the form of the sun is worshipped by the residents of Śākadvīpa by performing appropriate holy rites in the manner they are laid down. The residents have perfect control of their souls and minds.

O brahmins, Śākadvīpa is encircled by the ocean of milk of the size of Śākadvīpa. It is as though encircled by a girdle.

O brahmins, the ocean of milk is encircled by Puṣkaradvīpa.

SHASTRI<sup>478</sup> 1985: 112

### • KŪRMA-PURĀNA 49

BHATTACHARYA 1972: 277<sup>479</sup>

*magāśca magadhāścaiva mānavā mandagāstathā /  
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścātra krameṇa tu // 37  
yajanti satataṁ devaṁ sarvalokaikasākṣiṇam /  
vratopavāsairvividhairdevadevaṁ divākaram // 38  
teṣāṁ sūryena sāyujyam sāmīpyam ca sarupatā /  
salokatā ca viprendrā jāyate tatprasādataḥ // 39*

MUKHOPADHYAYA 1890: 421

*mṛgāśca<sup>480</sup> magadhāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā /  
[...]  
teṣāṁ vai sūr(y)yasāyujyam<sup>481</sup> sāmīpyaśca sarupatā /  
[...]*

37–39. The casts there are Magas, Magadhas, Mānavas and Mandagas corresponding respectively to Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

They constantly worship the sun god, the overlord of the divinities, the sole witness to the (affairs of the) entire world, through the observance of various vows and fasts.

By the grace of the sun god, O eminent Brāhmaṇas, they attain the ‘Sāyujya’, ‘Sārūpya’ and ‘Sālokya’ (stages of emancipation) with the Sun god.

BHATTACHARYA 1972: 277

37–39. The Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are respectively called Mṛga, Magadha, Mānasa and Mandagas.

<sup>478</sup> In SHASTRI’s translation, it is not chapter 20, but chapter 18; there is the same number of verses.

<sup>479</sup> The Sankrit text corresponds to GUPTA 1971: 350.

<sup>480</sup> Mukhopadhyaya noted the variation *magāśca iti*, but decided to adopt the reading *mṛga-*.

<sup>481</sup> In this case, like the previous one, the variant is mentioned, but not adopted.

By performing holy rites and observances of various sorts, they perpetually worship Divākara (the sun-god) the lord of Devas, the sole witness of all worlds.

O Brāhmaṇas, thanks to the favour of the Sun, they attain Sāyujya (identity) with the sun, Sāmīpya (nearness), Sarūpatā (similarity in appearance) and Salokatā (residence in the solar region).

TAGARE 1981: 318

• **VIŚNU-PURĀṇA II. 4 (= PATHAK 1997 : 195)**

*magāś ca māgadhāś caiva mānasā mandagāś tathā /  
magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhā māgadhāḥ kṣatriyāś tu te /  
vaiśyāś tu mānasāś teṣāṁ śūdrāś teṣāṁ tu mandagāḥ // 69  
śākadvīpe tu tair viṣṇuḥ sūryarūpadharo mune /  
yathoktair ijjyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ // 70  
śākadvīpas tu maitreya kṣīrodena samantataḥ /  
śākadvīpapramāṇena valayeneva veṣṭitah // 71*

The caste of Mriga is that of the Brahman; the Mágadha, of the Kshetriya; the Mánasa, of the Vaiśya; and the Mandaga of the Śúdra: and by these Vishṇu is devoutly worshipped as the sun, with appropriate ceremonies. Śáka-dwípa is encircled by the sea of milk, as by an armlet, and the sea is of the same breadth as the continent which it embraces.

WILSON 1840: 200

❖ **MAHĀBHĀRATA VI, 12**

*tatra pūṇyā janapadāścatvāro lokasammatāḥ /  
magaśca maśakāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā // 33  
magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhāḥ svakarmanīratā nrpa /  
maśajeṣu tu rājanyā dhārmikāḥ sarvakāmadāḥ // 34  
mānaseṣu mahārāja vaiśyāḥ karmopajivīnāḥ /  
sarvakāmasamāyuktāḥ śūrā dharmārthaniścītāḥ /  
śūdrāstu mandage nityāṇ puruṣā dharmāśūlināḥ // 35*

tatra puṇyā jana|padāś catvāro loka|saṃmatāḥ:  
 Maṅgāś ca, Maśakāś c’āiva, Mānasā, Maṇdagāś tathā.  
 Maṅgā brāhmaṇa|bhūyiṣṭhāḥ sva|karma|niratā, nr|pa.  
 Maśakeṣu tu rājanyā dhārmikāḥ, sarva|kāma|dāḥ.  
 Mānasā ca, mahā|raja, vaiśya|dharm’|ōpajīvināḥ,  
 sarva|kāma|saṃyuktāḥ, śūrā, dharm’|ārtha|niścitāḥ.  
 śūdrās tu Mandagā nityam puruṣā dharmā|śīlināḥ.  
 na tatra rājā, rāj’|ēndra, na dāṇḍo, na ca dāṇḍikāḥ.  
 sva|dharmen’āiva dharmam ca te rakṣanti paras|param.<sup>482</sup>

CHERNIAK 2008: 90, 92

People believe that there are four pure countries: the countries of the Mangas, the Máshakas, the Mánasas, and the Mándagas. The Mangas are mostly brahmins preoccupied with their duties, Your Majesty. Among the Máshakas are found virtuous Kshatriyas who fulfill [*sic!*] every request. The Mánasas, great king, live in accordance with the duties of vaishyas. With their every wish grantes, they are brave and committed to righteousness and commercial endeavor [*sic!*]. The Mándagas are shudras of every-virtuous conduct. In those countries, king of kings, there is neither king nor punishment nor punisher. The inhabitants know their duties, and protect one another by fulfilling their respective duties.

CHERNIAK 2008: 91, 93

This section of the *Mahābhārata* introduces people of different classes related to the countries of Śakadvīpa. This led SHRAVA (1981: 5) to consider them provinces and to relate them to the names of the people listed by Ptolemy: the Mṛga would correspond to the Margiana, the Masaka to the Massagetai and the Mandaga to the Makaitegoi. The text of the *Mahābhārata* clearly connects the names with social positions, so we cannot consider them countries, but people; moreover, the term *janapada-* means not only ‘country’, but also ‘community, people’ (MW 410, II). The terms could stand for the names of the populations that inhabited those countries, but not for the names of the provinces themselves. For this reason, the relation between the Magas/Mṛga and Margiana seems inconsistent.

<sup>482</sup> In CHERNIAK’s edition, this section is drawn from *Mahābhārata* VI. 2, 36–39.

Curiously, the *Mahābhārata* gives the names of the classes of Śākadvīpa only; for the other *dvīpas* no names of classes are presented (cf. CLARK 1919: 224).

<b>AGNI-P.</b>	Maga-	Magadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
<b>BRAHMA-P.</b>	Maga-	Māgadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
<b>KŪRMA-P.</b>	Maga-/ Mrga- <sup>483</sup>	Magadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
<b>VIṢNU-P.</b>	Maga-/ Mrga- <sup>484</sup>	Māgadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
<b>MAHĀBHĀRATA</b>	Maga-/Manga- / Mrga- <sup>485</sup>	Maśaka- /Masaka-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-

The *Vāyu*-, *Matsya*- and *Mārkandeya-purāṇas* do not give the names of these classes at all. In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (5. 20. 28), which follows a different textual tradition, the names are R̥tavrata, Satyavrata, Dānavrata, and Anuvrata. Al-Bīrūnī, quoting the *Matsya*- and *Viṣṇu-purāṇas* as they were known in his time, gives Mrga, Māgadha, Mānasa, and Mandaga for Gomed(ka)dvīpa and Aryaka, Kurura, Vivimsa and Bhavin for Śākadvīpa.<sup>486</sup>

<sup>483</sup> *Kūrma-purāṇa* 49 has Maga and Magadha in four manuscripts, Mrga and Magadha in another four (cf. CLARK 1919: 224).

<sup>484</sup> *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2. 199–200 contains Mrga, Mārga and Maga in the various manuscripts; the latter is the most common (*ibid.*).

<sup>485</sup> The Calcutta edition of the *Mahābhārata* has Mrga- for the first class and Masaka- for the second (cf. CLARK 1919: 224).

<sup>486</sup> See SACHAU 1983: 120 f.

## 2. Some Reflections on Topics Presented in the Purāṇas

### 2.1 The Lexicon

The lexicon employed in the Purāṇic sections related to the Magas/Bhojakas is very peculiar. Particularly in relation to the ritual sphere, we find certain terms, that seem to be more closely connected to the Iranian environment than the Indian one. Even more interesting, this ‘foreign vocabulary’ appears to be drawn from different strata of Iranian languages, even though we cannot establish precisely which Iranian language each term belongs to. In fact, the terms have been ‘Sanskritized’ for their use in the Purāṇic texts; i.e., they have been rendered in a Sanskrit form.<sup>487</sup> What is meaningful is that the Iranian loanwords were preferred to their Sanskrit equivalents, showing that the Iranian character of these Brāhmaṇas was very important to the author of the texts (and probably for the group of Magas/Bhojakas itself). Even if these loanwords were inserted in the Purāṇas in later times, the inclination towards Iranian culture (or Iranian roots) is clear. Moreover, it is not important that these words may have been later additions, possibly drawn from Pārsī teachings;<sup>488</sup> the attempt to maintain a link with the Iranian and Mazdean milieu is evident here. Furthermore, the Iranian connection lies in other aspects of Śākdvīpiyas’ (or the Magas’/Bhojakas’) cult, especially in their calendar, which shows a clear resemblance to the Zoroastrian one, albeit with remarkable Śaiva influences.<sup>489</sup>

Generally, when loanwords are accepted and integrated into another context, we must consider the fact that they could simply have crystallized ideas and expressions that were already known to the target environment. The geographically close Iranian religious tradition could have reached North India before the Magas’ migration. According to the chronology of the Purāṇic tradition, the most ancient sections of the *Sāmba-purāṇa* should have been composed before the first Sanskrit translations of the Avestan texts. On the contrary, it is very difficult to date the different parts of the *Bhavisya-purāṇa*, which are definitely more recent.

An important source for comparing the ‘Sanskritized’ Mazdean terminology with the Purāṇic one is the Sanskrit translation of the Avestan materials made by Nēryōsangh Dhaval, a Pārsī *mōbēd*, around 1200 AD. His translation of the *Yasna* has been widely studied, especially

<sup>487</sup> I have discussed this topic extensively in PALLADINO 20??b.

<sup>488</sup> See HUMBACH 1978: 248.

<sup>489</sup> On this topic, see PANAINO 1996. Varāhamihira presents the Maga Brāhmaṇas’ calendar in *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 1, 23–25.

between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and translated into other languages, either in whole or in part.<sup>490</sup> Nēryōsangh himself discloses the authorship of his work:

[...] *idam ijisnijamdapustakam mayā nirītosamghena dhavalasutena pahalavījamdāt samskṛtabhāṣāyāmavatāritam* // [...]

“[...] Ce volume nommé le livre Idjisni (Izeschné)<sup>491</sup> a été traduit par moi Niriosangha, fils de Dhaval, du livre pahalavi (Pehlvi) en langue Sanscrite [...].” (BURNOUF 1833: XV f.)<sup>492</sup>

Different scholars did not all use the same manuscripts<sup>493</sup> in preparing the translation of Nēryōsangh's text, and the methodologies applied to the analysis are those that were in use at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; even the places in which the physical manuscripts were presumably held have changed names. SPIEGEL (1861: 14) points to four different manuscripts: one is preserved at the University Library of Copenhagen, number six in Westergaard's Catalogue (WESTERGAARD 1846); another of Nēryōsangh's Sanskrit translations is part of the “*II fonds d'Anquetil*” series, at the *Bibliothèque Royale* in Paris, currently the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. The last two manuscripts used by Spiegel are kept at the Parisian library as well, one known also by Burnouf, but not preserved in good condition, and the other coming directly from Burnouf's private collection. MILLS (1910: XXVIII ff.) lists a different set of manuscripts: one, classified as S', has the name *Meher Nawrozji Kutar* on it. Another one is marked Oxford E<sup>1</sup> or J<sup>3</sup>, which Destoor Jamaspji Minpcherji Jamasp Asana, the High Priest of the Pārsīs in Mumbai at the time, gave to the library; it was probably the oldest manuscript accompanied by Nēryōsangh's translation, but it was very damaged with age.<sup>494</sup> The manuscript J\*, with the original *Yasna* and a sentence-by-sentence Sanskrit translation, property of Kai Khosu Destoor Jamasp Asana, a successive High Priest of the Pārsīs in Mumbai, (and son of the donor of the previous manuscript), has been kept at the Bodleian Library since Mills consulted it. Finally, a

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<sup>490</sup> In addition to SPIEGEL (1861) and MILLS (1910; 1912), we also have other editions of the Sanskrit translation of Nēryōsangh: see, for example, UNVALA 1918.

<sup>491</sup> *Yasna* (cf. BURNOUF 1833: 24).

<sup>492</sup> The text and translation are presented also in SPIEGEL 1861: 2; in BURNOUF's edition, the Sanskrit text is in *devanāgarī*, whereas SPIEGEL gives his own transcription. For the Sanskrit text, I have opted for the IAST transcription from Burnouf's edition.

<sup>493</sup> One of the digitalized manuscripts is also available on the Columbia University Libraries website at [http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd\\_8886507\\_003](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_8886507_003).

<sup>494</sup> Actually, I do not know if all these manuscripts still exist, especially those that were in bad condition when SPIEGEL and MILLS published their editions. For the purpose of my research, I did not need to check the manuscripts of Nēryōsangh's translation, but could rely on the edited texts. In the future, it could be a good topic of investigation, in order to update and refresh these commendable, but outdated studies.

copy of the manuscript J<sup>9</sup>, also donated by Destoor, is preserved at the same library. This is the *Khordeh Avestā* with a Sanskrit translation, dated by Destoor himself to around the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The model for Nēryōsangh's translation was the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna*; the Pahlavi text he used was not identical to the one we have nowadays, especially not with regard to certain sections of the text and glosses. Sometimes Nēryōsangh decided to follow the Avestan version instead, but in some sections, the Sanskrit translation is completely different from the Avestan original, because the Gujarati author did not completely understand the Pahlavi version, or he rendered the text in a literal way, sacrificing the Sanskrit syntax and, in some cases, changing the meaning of some sentences.<sup>495</sup>

Probably the most important aim, among the Pārsīs, was to preserve and transmit the tradition, and the accuracy of the translations and knowledge of the languages of transmission took second place. Nēryōsangh tries to adhere to his original text (i.e. the Pahlavi version), even from a syntactical point of view; the word order is as close as possible to the Pahlavi one, ignoring the fact that some of his choices are against the rules of Sanskrit syntax. He neglects the rules of *samdhī*, too. HARLEZ (1882: 468) states, 'Ce qui prouve que Neriosengh a suivi la version pehlevie c'est qu'il en reproduit généralement les erreurs.'

Even his glosses do not correspond to those of the Pahlavi manuscripts; sometimes they are longer, shorter or different altogether. For example, in *Yasna* XXVIII, we find a long Sanskrit gloss that does not exist in the Pahlavi text.

The Sanskrit terminology is not always appropriate or precise. Nēryōsangh's language is full of terms drawn from Gujarati, and in some cases Sanskrit terms are used in their Gujarati equivalents; in others, Gujarati words are 'Sanskritised'. Sometimes the author had to adapt Iranian names to Sanskrit phonology; for example, instead of the voiced alveolar fricative *z*, absent in Sanskrit, he used the voiced palato-alveolar affricate *j* [dʒ]: cf. *Horomijda*, *Ahuramajda*.<sup>496</sup> Nēryōsangh also appropriated some terms from the Sanskrit cultural milieu, to translate Iranian ones, and in this way, he actually added some new vocabulary to the original

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<sup>495</sup> He sometimes confuses the instrumental and the locative, or the third person singular, the second plural and the past participle. He sometimes takes the genitive for the nominative or the vocative; he does not understand the compounds and the inflected forms contain many mistakes. This is due to the fact that Nēryōsangh had a mediocre knowledge of Pahlavi, and confused the forms rendered with the same preposition or the same endings (cf. HARLEZ 1882: 467).

<sup>496</sup> „Für z, welchen Laut das Sanskrit nicht besitzt, wird j gesetzt, und so kehrt also auch hier die Schwankung zwischen j und z wieder, die wir schon im Pārsi gefunden haben.“ (SPIEGEL 1861: 6).

*Yasna*: for instance, he translates Av. *X<sup>v</sup>aniraθa-*<sup>497</sup> as *Jambudvīpa-*, more fitting to the Indian tradition and more comprehensible to Indian readers.<sup>498</sup>

Finally, SPIEGEL (1861: 12) postulates that different authors, at least two, carried out the translation of the *Yasna* into Sankrit. The closing of the text exhibits a different style from the rest of it (in particular chapter XLVII), and the Sanskrit restitution of some Iranian terms is different and, in some cases, is closer to the Persian (Middle, but also New Persian) word. Compared to Nēryōsangh, who – even if he did not have an excellent knowledge of the language – was probably able to read Sanskrit works without great difficulty, the second author did not have any familiarity with Sanskrit case system, verbal forms and constructions.

In any case, for the purpose of this research, the lexicon employed is particularly meaningful<sup>499</sup>: the comparison of the names of the ritual objects and the divine names could highlight many elements of similarity or dissimilarity between the two traditions. For example, the same nomenclature could suggest that the time-space coordinates of the two works are quite similar. The *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* mostly contains a ritual lexicon with Iranian elements and we know it is a late text that has been intermingled with many different materials; if the ritual terms had been the same in the *Purāṇa* and in Nēryōsangh’s translation, we could have postulated that this lexicon was actually produced and used in the same environment within a roughly contemporary period. On the contrary, the terms, especially those in the ritual vocabulary, are spelled differently.

<i>Purāṇas</i>	<i>Nēryōsangh</i>
avyaṅga- (abhyaṅga-)	aiviaṅghana-
varśman-	baresmana-
pūrṇaika-	—
patidāna-	—
homa-	hūma-
parahoma-	prāhūma-

<sup>497</sup> *X<sup>v</sup>aniraθa-* is one of the seven climates (*karṣvar-*; cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1961: 459) of the earth. It is described as a ‘splendid region’, and we find the expression [...] *imaṭ karṣvarə yaṭ x<sup>v</sup>aniraθəm bāmīm [...]* in *Mihr Yašt* vv. 15, 67 and 133 (cf. GERSCHEVITCH 1967 and HINZE 2014); *Raśn Yašt* 15 (cf. DARMESTETER 1883); *Yasna* 57, 31 (cf. MILLS 1887); *Widēwdād* 19, 39 (cf. CANNIZZARO 1990); and *Hādōxt Nask* I, 14.

<sup>498</sup> SPIEGEL 1861: 10.

<sup>499</sup> For the complete list of the ritual objects and divine names present in Nēryōsangh’s translation, see APPENDIX A.

The Av. *aiwyājhana-*, called *kusti* among the *Pārsīs*, is rendered as *avyaṅga-* (*abhyāṅga-*) in the *Sāmba-* and the *Bhavisya-purāṇas*, whereas Nēryōsangh's *aivianghana-* closely follows the Avestan spelling. Probably due to the low competence in Sanskrit language discussed above, Nēryōsangh decided to reshape the Avestan term *barəsman* (MP *barsom*) as an *-a* stem (*baresmana-*), which was easier to manage than a consonant stem. In the Purāṇic text, the initial *b-* turns into a *v-*, a phenomenon typical of Middle Indic languages. Two ritual objects, the *pūrṇaika-* and the *patidāṇa-*, are not present in the translation of the *Yasna*; the first one was probably a sort of ladle for pouring water, while the latter clearly echoes the Av. *paiti.dāṇa-*, the handkerchief used by priests for covering the mouth while officiating.<sup>500</sup> The Av. *haoma-*, MP *hōm*, Skr. *sōma-* is given as *homa-* in the Purāṇas and *hūma-* in Nēryōsangh's text; paradoxically, the spelling of the Purāṇic term is closer to the Middle Persian *hōm* than Nēryōsangh's one. The same is valid for the *parahoma-/prāhūma-*, the restitution of Av. *parahaoma-*, MP *prāhōm*.

<i>Purāṇas</i>	<i>Nēryōsangh</i>
Mihira	Mihira
Raśnu (Rājñā, Rājā, Rājñā)	Rasna (Raśna)
Saośra (Srauṣa, Stoṣa, Toṣa, Strauṣa, Śroṣa)	Śroṣa
Jaraśastra (Jataśastra, Jaraśabda)	Jarathustra
—	Hormijda – Majda

The names of the divine figures prompt some interesting considerations. The Av. god *Miθra-*, in both cases, had already adopted the Middle Persian form *Mihr*. *Mihira-* could have been derived from the Bactrian version MIIRO (or MIORO), well known from the coins of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka.<sup>501</sup> The names of the two attendants of Mithra on his morning crossing, Av. *Raśnu-* and *Sraośa-*, MP *Raśn* and *Srōś*, are given in various Sanskritic forms in the Purāṇic version; in Nēryōsangh's translation, the name *Rasna-* is rendered once again with an *-a* stem form, while *Śroṣa-* follows the Middle Persian form. For the name Av. *Zaraθuštra-*, MP *Žartūšt*, Nēryōsangh opted for the form *Jarathustra-*, closer to the Iranian, maintaining the second part of the compound as *-uṣtra-*, which is generally spelled *uṣtra-* (with retroflexion) in

<sup>500</sup> The purpose of this ritual object is to avoid contaminating the sacred fire with the priest's involuntary spittings while reciting.

<sup>501</sup> About this very interesting topic, see WEBER 1857; THOMAS 1876; HUMBACH 1975; MACDOWALL 1975; *idem* 1978.

Sanksrit. The absence of the fricative *z* in Sanskrit, which concerns both *Jara*[...] and *Hormijda-/Majda-*, was discussed above.

Finally, Nēryōsangh's translation contains some other interesting elements. The sun, *hvar-*, is translated as *sūrya-*, showing a perfect adaptation of the term to the Indian environment: for example, in VI, 36, we find Skr. [...] *sūryamca* [...] for Av. [...] *hvareca* [...]. On the other hand, the word *deva-* is used for indicating demonic beings, the Iranian Daevas; in this case, the term is completely decontextualized, the Devas being the deities of the Indian pantheon (cf. SPIEGEL 1861: 9). Nēryōsangh seems not to follow any predetermined rule in the process of translation, and the content of his work can be confusing for non-Zoroastrian readers. For this reason, we can assume that this translation was composed for Pārsī Zoroastrians, who were familiar neither Avestan nor Pahlavi any more. The choice of Sankrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, was motivated by its perception as a more solemn and widespread language than the regional Gujarati. Moreover, this option allowed non-Zoroastrian Indians the opportunity to read the sacred texts of the Pārsīs and, in this way, provided them with access to the Avestan corpus.

## 2.2 Some Reflections on the Sun Cult

[...] *sūrya ātmā jagatastasthūṣaśca*  
“[...] the sun is the soul of movable and immovable things”  
*Rgveda* I. 115, 1

*hārdaṁ hanti prathamamuditā yā tamah samśritānām [...]*  
*Sāmbapañcāśikā* 17a

The sun god has been praised since Vedic times. He is a visible god, and with his light and heat he creates and preserves life. In the *Rgveda*, we find many glorifications of the sun (cf. for example hymn I. 35 to Savitr) and of Mitra (III. 59; VII. 61), the solar deity that comes to be identified with one of the Ādityas. Even in the *Avesta*, the sun Hvar and the god Miθra (cf. in particular *Mihr Yašt*, the tenth *Yašt*) are repeatedly celebrated.

In the *Rgveda* (III. 62, 10), we also have the *Gāyatrī mantra*<sup>502</sup> (or *Sāvitrī*, since it is consecrated to Savitr), one of the most sacred *mantras* of Hinduism in general, and especially meaningful to the sun-worshippers.

Another phenomenon that has been associated with the sun cult until the present day has its roots in the Vedic period: the sun-time relation. We are evidently dealing with an intuitive association, because the presence of the sun divides day from night, and the same is true of the months, seasons etc. The *Maitrī* (or *Maitrāyanīya*) *Upaniṣad* 6, 14 discusses this sun-time relation, stating that before the sun, there was the ‘no-time’, and it was incomplete; the sun gave rise to time, which is complete. Such time consists of the twelve months of the year:

Il Brahman ha due aspetti, il tempo e il non tempo. Quello che è prima del sole è il non tempo, incompleto. Quello che comincia con il sole è il tempo ed è completo. Del [Brahman] completo l’aspetto è l’anno. Dall’anno invero nascono le creature, nell’anno, una volta nate, crescono, nell’anno muoiono. Perciò l’anno è Prajāpati come il tempo. Esso è il cibo, è il nido del Brahman ed è l’Ātman.<sup>503</sup> (DELLA CASA 1976: 425)

According to SRIVASTAVA (1996: 21 f.), this relation that dates from the Vedic period is ‘a pointer to the high metaphysical background of the Sun-worship. [...] The Sun appears to be

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<sup>502</sup> Skr.: *om bhūr bhuvah svāḥ  
tat savitūr varenyam /  
bhargo devasya dhīmahi  
dhīyo yo nah pracodayāt //*

<sup>503</sup> BÄUMER (2007: 8) writes, ‘[...] The origin of time is the sun. The forms of time is the year, which consists of twelve months and is composed of moments and other measurement of time ... It has been said: As many divisions of time as there are, in all of these moves the yonder sun. [...]’

the heart of the mystery of Time, presiding over death and immortality.' Therefore, since ancient times, this association has had a natural explanation and an elaborate symbology. The same connection exists in the epics and Purāṇas. In the Purāṇic sections related to the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, the sun is called 'Kāla-' on various occasions (SP. 24, 15a/Bh. I. 127, 14a: *kālo hy eṣa [...]*; SP. 43, 16b: *tvam deva [...] kālah [...]*; Bh. I. 139, 58b: sun devotees are called *kālasya yajvinah*, 'time-worshippers'). We will see that, even in sun temples, the representation of time is abundantly present. Finally, we must remark that the connection is not exclusively with the sun, but that time is often conceived in relation to astrology in general (cf. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1929: 13).

Beside Purāṇic literature, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, which frequently mention the sun god and the prayers addressed to him (cf. for example the story of Karṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and the *ādityahṛdayastotram* in the *Rāmāyana*), in classical Sanskrit literature we also find some works belonging to the Saura culture.

The *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra is a poem of one hundred stanzas in praise of the sun god. Sūrya, with all his epithets, his chariot, his disk and his rays, is celebrated as the supreme god of the universe.

We are not sure about the dates of Mayūra, but evidence suggests that he flourished in the first half of the seventh century. Based on a statement from Bāṇa, the famous seventh-century writer, we may conclude that Mayūra was an early friend of his, even though the identification of this figure with the poet of the *Sūryaśataka*<sup>504</sup> is not certain (cf. QUACKENBOS 1917: 3). Various sources, from 900 A.D. ca. to the seventeenth century, mention the relationship between Mayūra and Bāṇa. Other authors place the poets at the court of king Harṣa, where Mayūra emerged as forerunner in contests of eloquence. Maybe there was a feeling of rivalry between the two poets, who were probably also kin.<sup>505</sup> The life of Mayūra is reported in a large number of other authors' works, as well as in Jaina commentaries. Jaina literature substituted king Harṣa with king Bhoja, who, as we will see, is important in the sun-cult context, especially in relation to the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. In any case, what is particularly meaningful in the biography of Mayūra is that, according to the legend, he contracted leprosy. The different accounts of his life report that the disease was due to a curse by his wife or to the *karmic* result of his actions in a previous life; another version narrates that he recited illicit verses about his

<sup>504</sup> Bāṇa, in his *Harṣacarita*, includes a list of his friends, and *jānguliko Māyūrakah* is one of them. The meaning and the importance of the term *jāngulika-* will be discussed later.

<sup>505</sup> In the account of Yajñeśvara Śāstri's (who edited and added his own commentary to the *Sūryaśataka*), Mayūra's sister was Bāṇa's wife, so they were brothers-in-law (cf. QUACKENBOS 1917: 26). In other versions, Mayūra's daughter was Bāṇa's wife.

daughter's charms, and she cursed him. The most significant part is that, like Sāmba, he prayed to the sun for his recovery. In the sixth stanza of the *Sūryaśataka*, he states, 'The Hot-rayed one (Sūrya) alone makes anew and cures those/Who, because long rank and with a multitude of sins,/Have shriveled noses, feet and hands [...]’ (*Ivi*: 114). The healing power of the sun is once again the main focus in matters of sun-worship.

The author clearly had a good knowledge of previous literature in praise of Sūrya (*Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas* etc.), and we find echoes of this in the stanzas of the *Sūryaśātaka*.

Another common topic is the presence of snakes: in stanza 81, the sun god is praised by the 'Lords of the Serpents' (*ahipatibhir*, *Ivi*: 202). Bāṇa refers to Mayūra as *jāngulika*-, 'snake doctor' or 'snake charmer', possibly someone who prepares antidotes; this is supported by a stanza by Rājaśekhara (from the *Sūktimuktāvali*; cf. *Ivi*: 5) that states that of all the poets, it is Mayūra's voice that has the same effect on snakes that poison does. Whether Mayūra was really a doctor specialized in antidotes or not, the presence of snakes (and maybe of medicine, too!) is very significant with regard to the sun's devotees and the context of sun worship.

Finally, the topic of water in relation to the sun cult is mentioned in the poem. Sūrya acts as a sort of basin for water, which is drawn up from the earth and afterwards poured down again in the form of rain (cf. stanzas 9, 14, 30, 73, 91 and 93). The sun is generally described as 'made of water' or the 'creator of water' in the poem, but we also find some peculiar and lyrical images, like in stanza 14: during the rainy season, the rays of the sun, 'as if [they had been] made sick by excessive drinking, they vomit out [this] water,/And in winter are, [in consequence], feeble [...]' (*Ivi*: 127). In stanza 30, the sun is depicted as '[...] the swift bringer of joy through rain [...]’ (*Ivi*: 145), and in stanza 73, the disk of the sun is described as '[...] the reservoir of rain-water, and the mighty drinking-cup/[Full] of the water [that is as] ambrosia to the earth' (*Ivi*: 194).

Over the centuries, the *Sūryaśātaka* has been appreciated by rhetoricians, and has been quoted even by Abhinavagupta and Mammata. The commentaries on it are numerous: Ṭribhuvanapāla, Yagneśvara, [Maḍhusūḍana, Vallabhaṭṭa, Jayamangala], Śrīrangaṭeva, [Gangāḍhara, Bālambhatta, Harivamśa], Gopīnāṭha, [Jagannāṭha, Rāmabhatta, Anvayamukha], Rāmacandra, and some anonymous writers have all authored commentaries on it (cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987: 328).

We can affirm without a doubt that the *Sūryaśātaka* is perfectly in line with the Purāṇic legends of Sāmba, his devotion to the sun and the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas. Furthermore, the poet identifies himself with Sāmba, since he praises the sun for curing him of leprosy. Whether

this biographical element is reliable or not is not important; the episode highlights a deep knowledge of Purāṇic materials, which in turn are directly connected with the migration of the Śākadvīpīyas. SRIVASTAVA (1996: 41) states, ‘Indian Sun-cult occupied a unique position among the religious system of India in the sense that it was the only sect which came to be formally associated with a foreign priesthood and developed under its influence in ancient times.’ This is very true because, according to various authors and frequent statements, the Śākadvīpīyas were the only ones who could actually participate in the sun cult, being the leading specialists in matters of sun worship.

Another work certainly connected with Sāmba’s legend is the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*, which is traditionally attributed to Sāmba himself. It is a lyric masterpiece, and among the *stotras* in praise of Sūrya, ‘Sāmbapañcāśikā ranks supreme’<sup>506</sup>; the reason for this being considered the most important hymn in the Saura context is that it ‘[...] articule l’adoration du Soleil, conçu ici comme l’Être absolu selon une perspective non-dualiste, au Yoga et à la philosophie de la Parole (Vāk)’ (CHENET 1993, 255).

We can determine the *terminus ante quem* for this text based on the commentary of Kṣemarāja, whom we know lived in the eleventh century.<sup>507</sup> As it is a Kashmiri text, we should consider it with reference to the spread of the sun cult in Kashmir, the best testimony of which is the temple of Mārtanda<sup>508</sup> (not far from the city of Anandnāg), dated to the eighth century; we can state with sufficient certainty that the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* was also composed around the eighth century (cf. BÄUMER 2006: 2). Since the style and the expressions employed recall those of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, we may suppose that the author drew inspiration from the two poets; therefore, he may also have lived around the ninth century (cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987: 329).

The work is a praise poem, and it functions perfectly within the context of Sāmba’s legend, the story of his disease and healing by the sun god. In verse 46a, it is stated that the sun bestows freedom from disease (*ye cārogyam disyati*; BÄUMER 2006: 22). Recovery from leprosy is only a secondary aim of reciting this *stuti*, the primary one purely being spiritual devotion to and worship of the sun.

The topics related to the sun god are basically the same as those of other Saura works. In the first verse, the sun’s seven horses are compared to the seven notes. In the third one, we find a mention of the sun who manifests the world in twelve forms (*jagadbhāsayandvādaśātmā*; *Ivi*:

<sup>506</sup> KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987: 328.

<sup>507</sup> For the text of the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* and the commentary of Kṣemarāja, see KENDĀRNĀTHA 1910.

<sup>508</sup> Note the figure of Mārtanda-Bhairava, a composite form of the sun and Śiva that is central to Saura Tantrism.

7). The natural phenomenon of sunlight and its importance for living beings is underlined in the hymn (cf. for example verse 24; *Ivi*: 16), but in the commentary, Kṣemarāja is interested only in the speculative and esoteric aspects of sun worship: sunlight is the Light of Consciousness. The sun in general is a symbol of light, but in the Kashmiri Śaivite context, it also comes to coincide with the supreme Consciousness (*chit*), identified with Śiva in turn.

The *Sāmbapañcāśikā* perfectly represents the Tantric Saura tradition, which later disappeared, completely absorbed by Śaiva Tantrism. Although the text testifies to the superimposition of Śaivism on the Saura cult, ‘Śiva is not mentioned at all in this purely Saura hymn’ (*Ivi*: 2). Only Viṣṇu is named (twice), but there is no mention of Śiva at all.

The hymn enumerates the three forms of Sūrya: one is the manifestation of Śiva in eight forms (*aṣṭamūrti*); another is *prāṇa*; and the third is the sun as the visible symbol of the divine. In fact, it is only in Kṣemarāja’s commentary that the identification with Śiva becomes explicit, because the text is a hymn devoted entirely to the sun god.

This Saura Tantrism is attested also in the ‘second’ section of the *Sāmba-purāṇa*, which is intermingled with the ‘first’ non-Tantric (and definitely more ancient) one. In the second section of the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (ch. 53–83), some chapters (53–55) are evidently Saura but show a Śaiva influence, whereas the remaining ones are purely in praise of Śiva and the *linga*. HAZRA (1955: 84) postulates that the latter part might have been drawn ‘from some works of the Śaivas and adapted to the needs of the Tantrik Sauras with certain modifications.’

The imposition of the Śaiva cult onto the Saura one probably started around the sixth century. Varāhamihira, the famous astrologer and astronomer who himself probably belonged to the Śākadvīpiya group, presented the calendar of the Magas in the first chapter of his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*.<sup>509</sup> The list of the ‘lords of the degrees’ highlights astonishing correspondences with the Zoroastrian calendar, even though the list is ‘[...] strongly arranged according to a Śaiva orientation’ (PANAINO 1996: 577) and ‘[...] also some Viṣṇuitic aspects were endorsed [...]’ (*Ivi*: 580). This is perfectly in line with the Saura tendency towards Śaivism, although at this stage, the sun god and his worship are still the central focus. In the sixth century, we also have the temple dedicated to Mihireśvara, built by the *hūṇa* sovereign Mihirakula; the king himself left an inscription in which he claims to have built a temple for the sun god. We know that, under Mihirakula’s reign, Śaivism was superimposed onto the Saura

<sup>509</sup> For the complete edition and translation of this text, see NEUGEBAUER-PINGREE 1970, 1971, and THIBAUT-DVIVEDI 2002.

cult.<sup>510</sup> This testifies to the fact that this tendency had already begun by the sixth century. The *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, too, identifies Sūrya with Śiva.<sup>511</sup>

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In the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, three centres of the sun cult are described. In particular, *Bhaviṣya-* I. 72 states:

*sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu /  
pūrvam mitravanam nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate // 4  
kālapriyam trītyam tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam / 5a*

‘Three are indeed the places of the god Bhāskara in this land (*dvīpa*, referring to Jambudvīpa, generally identified with India). The first is named Mitravana, [the second] is called Muṇḍīra; the third [place is] Kālapiryā, known in the three worlds.’

The three solar places have been identified with North Indian locations: Mitravana or Mūlasthāna with Multān in Punjab; Muṇḍīra or Sutira or Ravikṣetra with Koṇārka/Koṇārak in Orissa; and Kālapriya with Kalpi in Uttar Pradesh or Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh.<sup>512</sup>

Multān is considered the first settlement of the Brāhmaṇas coming from Śākadvīpa (cf. chapter 5). We also have the description of Xuánzàng (Hsüan-tsang), who arrived in Mūlasthānapura (Multān) in the seventh century, where he found a sun temple: ‘[...] This country is in dependence of the kingdom of Cheka (Tse-kia). [...] There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all [...]’ (BEAL 1980: 463).<sup>513</sup> Four centuries later, al-Bīrūnī stated that Multān was known as ‘Sāmbapura’ and that people celebrated a solar festivity there: ‘The Hindus of Mūltān have a festival which is called *Sāmbapurayātrā*; they celebrate it in honour of the sun, and worship him [...]’ (SACHAU 1983: II, 184; cf. also WEBER 1957: 106).

According to SRIVASTAVA (1996: 6), the first section of the *Sāmba-purāṇa*—the section that is incorporated in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*—was actually composed in Punjab. The second part, clearly Tantric in its inspiration, was probably composed in Orissa, where we have

<sup>510</sup> Cf. SCHEFFELOWITZ 1933: 320; HUMBACH 1978: 329; PANAINO 1996: 582.

<sup>511</sup> Cf. SRIVASTAVA 1996: 69.

<sup>512</sup> Cf. SRIVASTAVA 2013: XVII. HUMBACH (1978: 234) proposes a slightly different identification for these places: ‘In a few more recent passages of the SP. and BhP. the story of Sāmba is brought into connection not only with the sanctuary of Mitravana in the West but also with that of Kālapriya at the border of the Yamunā (i.e. Mathurā) and with that of Tapovana or Muṇḍīra/Sundīra/Sutīra/Puṇḍīra in the east (i.e. Koṇārak in Orissa).’

<sup>513</sup> On Xuánzàng’s account, cf. also WEBER (1857: 105) and STIETENCRON (1966: 226).

monumental evidence of the Tantric form of the sun cult in the temple of Koṇārka. The Sūrya temple in the Koṇārka complex was built in the thirteenth century at the behest of king Narasiṁha (1238–1264). It certainly represents one of the most important examples of the magnificent celebration of the sun god. ‘Among these the Sun-temple of Koṇārka had been the greatest, as can be seen even from the impressive surviving ruins. Situated at the east coast of Orissa, near the mouth of the (now dried up) Candrabhāgā river, the Koṇārka Sun-temple [...] stands as a witness to the importance of the cult of Sūrya in the ancient and medieval India [...]’ (BÄUMER 2007: 3). The name *Koṇārka* itself seems to be understood as ‘the [eastern] corner (*kona*) sacred to the Sun-God (*arka*)’ (*ibid.*). *Kona-* is also the designation of the planet Saturn. The temple tradition is also closely associated with numerology (cf. paragraph 1. 5).

The northwestern part of India was an important centre of the sun cult. This was probably also due to the importance of sun worship in the neighbouring lands of the Sīstān-Hilmand region of Afghanistan, in which for instance the temple of Sunagir, Zoon or Zoor, was built (HABIBI 1972; cf. also SRIVASTAVA 1996: 44).

The above-mentioned temples were very important in ancient times, both for sun worship as well as for the Śākadvīpīya communities. Nowadays, Śākadvīpīya people still go to visit these temples, even if they are no longer active. Today they have new cult centres; one example, in Rājasthān, is the Sūrya temple in Rāṇakpur, between the cities of Udaipur and Jodhpur. It was made of white limestone and built in classical Nagara style; its first construction dates back to the thirteenth century. The decoration is intricate and accurate, glorifying the sun god seated on his chariot (cf. paragraph 5.2).

## 2.3 The Iconography of the Sun God

I have already dealt with the topic of the sun's iconography in PALLADINO 20??a. Since it constitutes one of the most peculiar aspects of the North Indian sun cult, it is necessary to add some further details.

In *Sāmba-purāṇa* 31, the ideal image of the god, based on the one found in the *Candrabhāgā* river by Sāmba, is described. First, the measurements of its parts are listed; then, we have a description of its attributes. It should have long eyes with thick eyelashes, and be smiling, with red-coloured lips like the Bimba fruit; it should wear the *avyaṅga* (v. 18), a diadem/crown (*mukuṭa-*, v. 17b), and many other ornaments, like bracelets, bangles, a necklace, anklets and earrings. In both hands, the sun god should hold a lotus.<sup>514</sup> The idol is a perfect synthesis of typical Indian elements, like the lotus, and Iranian attributes, like the *avyaṅga* and perhaps the diadem/crown<sup>515</sup>, too.

The above-mentioned astronomer and astrologer Varāhamihira, in *adhyāya* 58 of his *Brhatsaṃhitā*, adopts the same structure: he gives the measurements of the sun's statue and then describes it. The god should be dressed in northern style, and his dress should cover his body from breast to feet; he must wear armour. He should hold a lotus in both hands, and wear a diadem and the girdle around his waist (here the *avyaṅga-* is called *viyadga-*); he must have earrings and a necklace. His face should be pleasant, with a smile (vv. 46–48). The similarities between the two descriptions are evident. In Varāhamihira's text, we have another important Iranian element, the long garment, which recalls the Kuṣāṇa dress or a similar garment.<sup>516</sup> On a statue and relief found in Mathurā, the sun god wears a long, heavy garment and boots, and holds a sword.<sup>517</sup> PANDEY (1971: 139) specifies that, also in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the sun idol is described as holding a lotus in both hands.

Varāhamihira then adds (*adhyāya* 60, 19; cf. SASTRI 1946: 525) that the priests charged with installing the sun god's image are the Magas. Chapter 177 of the *Varāha-purāṇa* also refers to the installation of the sun's image. First, it narrates the story of Sāmba's curse and recovery (IYER 1985: 526–529); in the end, Kṛṣṇa's son installs the sun's image in Mathurā, and the place is named Sāmbapura in honor of him (v. 58; *Ivi*: 530; cf. also BANERJEA 1974: 158).

<sup>514</sup> For the description of the idol, cf. STIETENCRON 1996: 225 and SRIVASTAVA 2013: 92–94; for the Sanskrit text, see also KHANDELAVĀLA 2012: 152–155.

<sup>515</sup> The crown may symbolize the *x̄arənah*, the royal power, often depicted as a nimbus or directly as a crown.

<sup>516</sup> The long garment is also useful for obscuring Sūrya's feet. According to the the Purāṇic legend (SP. 11/Bh. I. 79, but also *Matsya-purāṇa*, ch. 32; cf. PANDEY 1971: 139 as well as *Ivi*: 183), Viśvakarman shaped the sun's form only down to his knees; therefore the feet, with their excessive splendour, must not be exposed.

<sup>517</sup> Cf. CHAKRABERTI 1981. These two pieces definitely exhibit typical Kuṣāṇa dress.

The northern iconography of the sun is characterized by this union of Indian and Iranian elements; this perfectly reflects the syncretistic features of the cultures that inhabited the lands between India and Iran (Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Hūṇas etc.), and who reached North India during the first centuries of the Common Era. In that period, we find a complete identification of Mit(h)ra with the sun god. Already in the first century B.C., with the inscription of Antiochus I at Commagene, we find the ‘Mithra-Helios-Apollo-Hermes’ figure, showing both the identification of Mithra with the sun god (Helios), and their combination with Greek deities. This tendency is also clear from the coinage of the Kuṣāṇa kings, especially the well-known Kaniṣka (Kaniška). On these coins, Mithra is associated with Helios, and the god’s name is MIIRO (or MIORO)<sup>518</sup>; this is the form of the name that appears in Sanskrit texts as *Mihira*.

The anthropomorphic form is probably due to Greek influence as well. In India and in Iran, the sun used to be represented as a disk. Particularly from the first centuries A.D., the human appearance of the sun acquired importance in both areas. In India, this anthropomorphic representation was canonized in the Gupta period. In any case, the northern iconography of this god differs from the southern.<sup>519</sup> Among the Iranian attributes, the *avyaṅga* is surely the most important in our perspective, because it shows a prescription directly connected with the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.

Bh. I. 142:

*nāgarājāṅgasambhūto dhṛto yasmāc ca bhānunā // 4b  
tat tasmād dhāryate sūryaprītyai tadbhaktim icchatā / 5a*

‘Since it (the *avyaṅga*), [which is] made of the skin of the Nāga king, is worn by Bhānu, it is worn by Sūrya’s beloved ones, who desire [to participate in] his adoration.’

Leaving aside the very interesting topic of the snakeskin for the moment, the *avyaṅga* represents a peculiar attribute of the Śākadvīpīyas. PANDEY (1971: 179) argues that this attribute of the sun is a later addition, because it is present only in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to date the sections of the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* that mention this ritual object for the first time. Varāhamihira mentions it as well (though he calls it by another name), and it is perfectly in line with the trend of the first centuries A.D. Furthermore, we have no proof of the presence of the Śākadvīpīyas on Indian soil before the second century A.D. (cf. paragraph 4.3). We may postulate that this peculiar iconography had

<sup>518</sup> On this topic, see THOMAS 1876; MACDOWALL 1975; *Id.* 1978; HUMBACH 1975; SHRAVA 1985.

<sup>519</sup> NAGAR (1995: 135) describes all the different types of northern clothing found in the various texts. Cf. also BANERJEA 1952.

its roots in the Śākadvīpīya texts and tradition, or that the Śākadvīpīya tradition adopted this peculiar feature of the sun god, rich in foreign elements, to augment its own specific identity. Thus we risk a ‘chicken and egg’ situation, but I do not think it is necessary to establish whether the Śākadvīpīya cult influenced the iconography or *vice versa*; the fundamental and undeniable element is that the two entities were deeply connected.

We mentioned the fact that the figure of Mit(h)ra merged with that of the sun god. According to GRENET (2006), ‘the Central Asian type of Mithra as charioteer deeply influenced the iconography of the Indian Sūrya, including the costume.’ Very important is the symbology of the horses that draw the sun’s/Mit(h)ra’s chariot: constituting a group of seven in later times, they represent the seven days of the week and, in classical literature, the seven notes etc. This iconography influenced Bactria and the neighbouring regions, as well. Mit(h)ra, as the sun, has been very popular across Central and South Asia throughout history; moreover, Mithraic cults reached the West as well. From an iconographical, cultural and religious point of view, the influence was bidirectional.<sup>520</sup> A curious example of Indian attributes being exported to Iran is the representation of Mithra, standing on a lotus, on the Sasanian relief at Tāq-e Bustān. The lotus is clearly a solar attribute, but it features a thick stem and its petals completely open, recalling the Indian style. Moreover, this is the only example of this kind of representation in Sasanian art.<sup>521</sup> The lotus has even been interpreted as the *x<sup>v</sup>arənah*, abiding in the waters.<sup>522</sup>

Finally, we must underscore the fact that not only does the sun god/Mit(h)ra have a prescribed iconography, but so do Sāmba and his family. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (LVIII, 40) describes the characteristic iconography of Sāmba and his wife, along with that of Pradyumna and his consort.

*sāmbaśca gadāhastah pradyumnaścāpabhṛt surūpaśca /  
anayoh striyau ca kāryhe kheṭakanistrimśadhbāriṇyau // 40*

‘Samba should be made with a mace in his hand; Pradyumna, endowed with a charming body, with a bow in his hand. Their wives also should be made holding swords and shields in their hands’ (SASTRI 1946: 513).<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> Cf. PALLADINO 20??c.

<sup>521</sup> Cf. CARTER 1981: 74 ff.

<sup>522</sup> Cf. GRENET 2006.

<sup>523</sup> See also BANERJEA 1974: 31.

## 2.4 Śākadvīpa

Śākadvīpa is one of the seven *dvīpa* or islands, and it is generally conceived as the sixth in the Purānic and epic lists.<sup>524</sup> The island is surrounded by the Milk Ocean. Many scholars have dealt with the real geographical position of Śākadvīpa.<sup>525</sup> On many occasions, it has been identified with the ‘land of the Śakas’, i.e. Iran or the Central Asiatic lands between Iran and India, where these Śaka tribes used to live. The *Mahābhārata* affirms that all the names of the *dvīpas*, with the exception of Krauñca, come from the names of plants and trees. In fact, in the *Bhīṣma-parvan* (11, 28), it is stated that in the centre of the continent, there is a huge teak (*śaka-*) tree, a descendant of Kuru.<sup>526</sup> ‘The teak tree is indigenous to both peninsulas of India. Granted an early acquaintance with Indo-China, the tradition which connects the name Śākadvīpa with the Śāka tree and with the east, is more credible than the later tradition which derives the name from that of a tribe in the north-west where there are no Śāka trees’ (CLARK 1919: 223).

The island is also described in these paragraphs as a land of ‘rivers full of sacred waters’ (CHERNIAK 2008: 91), with long-lived people who are honest and respect the social order (cf. *ibid.*).

In the same *parvan* (*Mahābhārata* VI. 6, 55), we also find mention of the term *Nāgadvīpa*, where the Kumbakonan edition reads Śākadvīpa.<sup>527</sup> This is very interesting with respect to the fact that snakes and especially the *nāgas* are very important in the Śākādīpīya cult (cf. paragraph 2.7).

Many scholars propose to identify Śākadvīpa with Sakastāna, identified in turn with the Drangiana (*Zranka*<sup>528</sup>) satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. This region or a part of it probably acquired the name *\*Sakastān* due to a significant immigration of Saka (Śaka) to this land. Medieval Islamic sources mention it as *Siğistān*, known also to Isidore of Charax in the Greek variant *Σαχαστάνη*.<sup>529</sup> The first attestation of the term *Sakastanē* was probably the inscription of Śāhpuhr I (241–272 A.D.) at Naqš-i Rustam.<sup>530</sup>

<sup>524</sup> References: *Mahābhārata* 6. 7. 20; 6. 11. 27–28; 6. 12. 6–7; *Vāyu-purāna* 35. 32; 49. 27, 44, 45, 61, 132–135; *Matsya-purāna* 114. 75; 122. 27, 81; 123. 36–39; *Bhāgavata-purāna* 5. 20. 2, 8, 13, 18, 24, 30; *Viṣṇu-purāna* 2. 2. 18; 2. 4. 18, 33, 44 (cf. CLARK 1919: 223, n. 65).

<sup>525</sup> Cf. *Ivi*: 215–222.

<sup>526</sup> For the Sanskrit text and the translation, see CHERNIAK 2008: 90 f.

<sup>527</sup> CLARK 1919: 222.

<sup>528</sup> GNOLI 1967: 41–51, 79.

<sup>529</sup> Cf. SCHOFF 1976: 9; cf. also DAFFINÀ 1967: 3.

<sup>530</sup> For further information on this topic, see DAFFINÀ 1967: 3 ff.

We have already dealt with the names of social classes on this island (cf. paragraph 1.3). The Maga Brāhmaṇas, flying on Garuḍa, reached India, according to the Purāṇic legend.

CARTER's theory (1981: 85 ff.) about the migration of the Magas from Śākadvīpa (identified with Iran or this 'Śaka land') to India is curious and interesting. During the third century, Kirdīr, a strictly orthodox Zoroastrian high priest, carried out a religious reform, destroying idols, condemning heresies and attacking any other religious cult, like Manicheism, Judaism, Christianity, Brahmanism and Buddhism (cf. Kirdīr's inscription at Naqš-i Bustān, KNRM; cf. MACKENZIE 1989). In the same inscription, Kirdīr mentions Sakastāna twice, at lines 14 and 23,<sup>531</sup> as being the place where these events took place. CARTER believes that the Zoroastrian reform and the persecution of other cults could have caused the Magas to leave Sakastāna and move to India, firstly to Multān. Probably, the Magas had maintained their peculiar Mit(h)raic-solar cult, and Kirdīr was punishing all the Magi that did not carry out correct Mazdā-worshipping practices. Due to the evidence of the Magas having settled in India before the third century (cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 123, 19), it is possible that a second wave of Magas, having fled Kirdīr's reform, could have joined the previously-migrated Magas, who had been in India possibly since Achaemenid times.<sup>532</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> Cf. MACKENZIE 1989: §14 – text: p. 43, transcription : p. 55, translation: p. 58; § 23 – text: p. 47, transcription: p. 55, translation: p. 59.

<sup>532</sup> Cf. paragraph 4.3.

## 2.5 King Bhoja

Another very interesting issue in the history of the development of a peculiar type of Hindū sun cult is the name of the king Mihira Bhoja (cf. TRIPATHI 1999: 321 f.; CHAURASIA 2002: 207 ff.; ROTHERMUND 2007: 6, 111) of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty,<sup>533</sup> who ruled over Northwest India from 836 to 885 A.D. He was the successor of Rāmabhada and he reigned for half a century. His kingdom was characterized by peace and prosperity, and he respected learned men; Raj Shenkhar was his court poet. The Arab traveller Sulaiman (or Soleiman) al-Tajir wrote about him in 851 A.D.: ‘The king of Gurjars maintains numerous faces and no other Indian prince has so fine cavalry. He has great riches and his camels and horses are numerous. There is no country in India more safe (*sic!*) from the robbers’ (CHAURASIA 2002: 207). He adopted the title of *adivaraha*, the primordial boar, *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, which was also depicted on his coins. Mihira Bhoja was a devotee of Viṣṇu, attesting to the fact that in the ninth century, Saura and Vaiṣṇava elements were deeply intermingled.

In *Bhavisya-purāṇa* I. 140–141,<sup>534</sup> we find some references to women of the Bhoja family; Sāmba made them marry the Magas, and from their union the Bhojakas were born: [...] *bhojakanyāsu jātatvād bhojakās tena te smṛtāḥ* // ‘Because they were born from Bhoja women, they were known as Bhojakas’ (Bh. I. 140, 35a). Obviously, the Bhoja to whom the Purāṇa refers could be the well-known king Bhoja (ca. 1000–1500 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty. He seems to have been an exceptional ruler, fond of learning and literature, and himself the author of a large number of works on grammar, astronomy, yoga and architecture, as well as poetry. He is also associated with the Bhojśālā, the centre of Sanskrit studies, and the foundation of the Bhojpur temple.<sup>535</sup> Moreover, this sovereign is mentioned in relation to the poet Mayūra, the

<sup>533</sup> The origin of Gurjara dynasty is uncertain. Probably, they entered India along with the Hepthalites (or White Hūṇas) around the fifth century, although most historians now believe that they had an indigenous origin. In any case, the name ‘Gurjara’ does not appear before the end of the sixth century (see *s.v.* ‘Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty’, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica online*, available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Gurjara-Pratihara-dynasty#ref173884>).

<sup>534</sup> Bh. I. 140: *magānām kāraṇārthena prārthitā bhojavamṣajāḥ / vasudevesya pautreṇa gotrajena mahātmānā // 8*  
*kanyādānām kṛtam teṣām magānām bhojakottamaiḥ //*  
*sarvās tāḥ sahitāḥ kanyāḥ pravālamanibhūṣitāḥ // 9*  
Bh. I. 141: [...] *dattā bhojakulotpannā daśabhyo daśakanyakāḥ / 6a*  
*dāsakanyās tu yāś cāṣṭau bhojakanyāś ca yā daśā /*  
*etāś teṣām kumārānām jñeyās tā daśā cāṣṭa ca // 7*  
*tatra te bhojakanyāsu dvijair utpāditāḥ sutāḥ /*  
*bhojakās tān gaṇān prāhur brāhmaṇān divyasaṃjñitān // 8*

<sup>535</sup> WILLIS 2012: *passim*. For further information about king Bhoja I, see for instance the first issue of volume 22 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* (2012), entirely dedicated to him and his dynasty.

author of the *Sūryaśataka*, discussed previously; Jaina literature locates the poet at this king's court (cf. QUACKENBOS 1917: 29, 41–43).

In addition to these historical figures, the name Bhoja is well-known in literature, too, especially in epic and Purāṇic materials. Two kings in the *Mahābhārata* are called Bhoja: the king of an ancient country named Mārttrikāvata (*Ādi-parvan*) and the king of Yaduvamśa (*Śānti-parvan*).<sup>536</sup> ‘Bhoja’ is also the name of a clan that takes part in the story of the birth of the mace, as told in the *Mausala-parvan*. A Bhoja is present in the *Rgveda*, too; he is a follower of Sudās, who helps Viśvāmitra in performing his *aśvamedha*. Finally, he is known as the king of Kānyakubja in the *Skanda-purāṇa*.<sup>537</sup>

Therefore, it is very difficult to decide which historical or mythological figure could be the king Bhoja mentioned in the *Bhavisya-purāṇa*, though this piece of information is not particularly important. What is meaningful is that the name Bhoja had great resonance, and was associated with great figures, both in history and in mythology. This would have conferred respect and greatness to his offspring, Bhojakas included.

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<sup>536</sup> Cf. VETTAMMĀNI 1979: 138.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.* f.

## 2.6 The Number Twelve

One recurrent element in the materials linked to the Śākdvīpīyas is the presence of the number twelve. The sun himself is *dvadasātman*<sup>538</sup>, ‘the one who has twelve forms’, the twelvefold sun, which clearly includes the twelve *Ādityas*, twelve hypostases representing the sun during the twelve months of the year (cf. CHENET 1993: 350). The twelve *Ādityas*, the sons of Aditi, are listed differently in the *Rgveda* (in which they appear to be only 78<sup>539</sup>), in the *Bhagavata-purāṇa*, in the *Liṅga-purāṇa* and in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. In the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, the twelve forms of the sun are listed and their meanings explained (SP. 4, 6–20 / Bh. I. 74, 7–22).<sup>540</sup> Among these names of the sun god, Ravi can stand also for the number twelve (cf. MW: 869, I). The importance of this twelvefold aspect of the sun is constantly present in the Saura tradition: Mayūra mentions them also in the 94<sup>th</sup> stanza of his famous *Sūryaśataka* (seventh century AD).

The predominance of this number is also clear in the previously mentioned temple of Konārka (Konārak) in Orissa: the Sūrya chariot has twelve double wheels, standing for the twelve months of the year (or the 24 half-months – *pakṣa*), consecrated to the twelve constellations. Moreover, the seven horses symbolize the seven days of the week. For this reason, the sun chariot in Konārka can be considered the representation of the universal Time.<sup>541</sup> According to tradition, the building of the temple lasted twelve years, and twelve-thousand artisans were engaged in its construction. As BÄUMER (2007: 5) correctly states, ‘[...] the number twelve is symbolic for the entire temple, for Sūrya and the legends associated with it.’

This number also appears in the later tradition of the *Magavyakti* (cf. chapter 3): one of the names of the Maga families is Bāra, related to *dvādaśa-*, ‘twelve’ (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; MYLIUS 2003: 471; SUTHAR 2003: 141).

The number twelve is well attested also in the Iranian tradition, especially in relation to the Magi. The Biblical Magi appear to be twelve in number in the ancient tradition of the *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, quoted also in other works. An Ethiopian tradition follows this Syrian one, and both of them show a preponderant Iranian influence (cf. PANAINO 2016b: 68 ff.). Even in this case,

<sup>538</sup> SP. 3, 3: *dvādasabhāgena mitreṇa*

SP. 4, 5/Bh. I. 74, 7: *dvādaśadhātmānam adityām*

This name of the sun is attested also in the *Amarakośa*, and in the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* 3, where the sun is said to manifest the world in its twelve forms.

<sup>539</sup> There is the problem of *Mārtāṇḍa*, the Dead Egg, caused to die by his mother Aditi, probably because of a ritual error. On this topic, see in particular HOFFMANN 1992 and in PANAINO 2013, chapter 9 (pp. 133–143).

<sup>540</sup> On this topic and on the peculiar aspect of the Mitra-form see PALLADINO 20??a.

<sup>541</sup> Cf. BÄUMER 2007: 11.

the number twelve can symbolize the number of zodiacal constellations, relating to the astronomical knowledge of the Magi. The tribes of Persia also number twelve (just like the tribes of Israel), as do the Babylonian wise astrologers who, according to Pahlavi and Persian texts, supported by Islamic sources, disputed with Zarathuštra at the court of king Wistāšp.<sup>542</sup>

Therefore, it is evident that the twelve have a strong symbology in connection with the sun god and the Magi: it is related to the months of the year and the astrological constellations, both predominant elements in the astrological knowledge of the sun-worshipping Magas/Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas.

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<sup>542</sup> On this specific topic, see PANAINO 2007.

## 2.7 The *Mār Nāmeh* and the Role of Serpents in Indian and Iranian Culture<sup>543</sup>

Snakes are a very important presence in the literature concerning the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. The pertinent sections of the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* are rich with elements directly or indirectly recalling these reptiles. In Bh. I. 142, 2–5 we find Vāsuki, the Nāga king, famous for having served as a rope in the renowned mythological episode of the churning of the Milk Ocean. In the Purāṇas, he offers the sacred girdle (*avyaṅga-*) to the sun god. It is made of the Nāga king’s skin and, in consequence, every devotee of the sun should wear an *avyaṅga* made of snakeskin. Moreover, OLDHAM (2010: 91) points out that Vāsuki is generally represented as holding a discus, which can be identified with the disc of the sun. The sun-serpent relation is abundantly present in Hindū mythology, and snakes are generally linked both with the god Śiva (in relation to the *linga-*) and to time. As we discussed previously, both Śiva and Kāla (the god of time) are inextricably connected with the sun.<sup>544</sup> The figure of Mit(h)ra, the solar god of the Vedas and the *Avesta*, came to be identified with the sun himself; in Purāṇic times, Mitra and Mihira were considered two names of the sun god. Mithra as the god of time is described as a huge snake (*mahāhis*).<sup>545</sup> In the Mit(h)raic cult we have Aion, generally depicted with a snake winding around his body.<sup>546</sup> Moreover, the time-snake relation is present in many religious cosmogonies: for instance, in the Bible, the serpent causes the first man and woman to pass into the linear time of history.<sup>547</sup>

Although the serpentine figures in the Vedas are not positive (like the demon Vṛtra), later Hinduism considers them semi-divine figures, connected with Śiva (as mentioned above) and Kubera; they are the guardians of Kubera’s wealth. Viṣṇu’s vehicle, Śeṣa or Ananta, is a serpent as well.

In Buddhism, the *nāgas* are preeminent figures. They are described as ‘schlangenartige, aquatisch, d.h. im Wasser oder im Bereich von Wasser lebende Wesen’ (DEEG 2008: 91). These aquatic beings are closely connected with the life of Buddha: for example, the *nāga* Mucilinda protects the Buddha from a heavy rainfall with his hood. Other important figures are the *nāga* king Kālika, as well as Elāpattra, who talks to the Buddha in the form of a huge serpent.<sup>548</sup> Even if the *nāgas* perhaps played a more important role in South India, we have

<sup>543</sup> This topic has been discussed extensively in PALLADINO 20??a.

<sup>544</sup> The sun god is directly connected with snakes; cf. OLDHAM 2010, ‘The Sun and the Serpent’.

<sup>545</sup> Cf. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1929: 18.

<sup>546</sup> NABARAZ (2006: 5) remarks on the importance of this figure.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>548</sup> Cf. DEEG 2008: 92.

some evidence that their cult was associated with Buddhist locations in the north, especially in the lands where the Buddha lived. In Rājgīr (Bihār), a vessel with *nāgas* was found, testifying to the presence of the practice of Nāga worship, along with a fragmentary relief with *nāga* figures.<sup>549</sup> The term *nāga-* is present also in association with various lay and monastic names in the Buddhist environment. At the Amarāvatī site, we find mention of two monks, Nāga and Nāgasena, and a nun, Nāgamitra, in the donor inscription. Even the names of the devotees, as recorded in the inscription, contain the term *nāga-*.<sup>550</sup> These mythological reptiles are ambivalent figures in Buddhism, too. They could be also negative and violent beings, and for this reason, sovereigns cared about them and tried to keep them placated. Xuánzàng narrates two episodes in which a monastery was built by kings for the purpose of honouring of the *nāgas*. ‘The first was constructed by King Kaniṣka in order to subdue a troublesome *nāga* who had been causing fierce storms. Xuanzang goes on to mention that this monastery served to pacify the *nāga*, and if storms ever began to arise the resident monks would beat a drum in the monastery in order to remind the *nāga* of his vow to behave’ (DECAROLI 2004: 61). The Buddha himself had the assignment of pacifying them, because they could excite the forces of nature. According to Buddhism, the reborn *nāgas* had accumulated negative *karman* in the previous life, but decided to adhere to Buddhism, and for this reason they would be freed.<sup>551</sup>

Hence, the features of serpents in Hinduism and Buddhism, such as their connection with the sun, waters and time, all reflect elements we also find in the Purāṇic texts.

The problem is with the alleged Iranian origins. ‘According to the *Zadspram*, the second of the five obligations prescribed for Zoroastrian priests consisted of distinguishing between beneficial animals and evil ones, and one of their professional implements was the “*xrafstar*-killer”, called in Middle Persian *margan*, or “snake-killer”; it is described as a stick with a piece of leather attached to the end’ (MOAZAMI 2005: 305). The snake is the Ahrimanic symbol *par excellence*.<sup>552</sup> In the *Bundahišn* (28.22), as well, it is stated that every Zoroastrian should carry a stick to kill *xrafstra-* (Av.; Pah. *xrafstar*) animals.<sup>553</sup> This custom is mentioned in classical sources, too; Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 46) reports the distinction between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ animals, as well as the Persian custom of celebrating the person who kills the highest number of ‘evil’ animals. Earlier still, Herodotus (*His. I*, 140) had recounted that the Magi used to kill animals, with the exception of dogs.

<sup>549</sup> Cf. DECAROLI 2004: 58.

<sup>550</sup> *Ivi*: 144.

<sup>551</sup> DEEG 2008: 93.

<sup>552</sup> NABARZ 2006 : 12.

<sup>553</sup> Reptiles, amphibians and insects are generally considered *xrafstra-* animals.

This custom finds a major exception in the *Mār Nāmeh*, ‘The Book of the Snake’. This is part of the *pārsī Revāyat*, a collection of poetry and prose texts composed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. It seems that Iranians used the *Mār Nāmeh* to foretell the future; more precisely, it is ‘the book for reading omens from snakes’.<sup>554</sup> In fact, the text deals with the effects that an encounter with a snake may have, according to the different days of the month. Some of them are indeed good omens; with reference to the day of the sun (eleventh day), ‘If you see a snake on the day of Khorsheed, happiness will come to you soon’ (NABARZ 2006: 28). Furthermore, the vision of a serpent on Mehr’s (Mithra’s) day (the sixteenth day) means that one will embark on a journey soon (*ibid.*). The good omens in relation to the sun or Mithra confirm the positive connection between these gods and snakes.

Therefore, serpents have not always belonged to the Ahrimanic sphere, even in the Zoroastrian world. Furthermore, in pre-Zoroastrian Iran, these animals were not perceived negatively; probably, their poisonous nature led to the demonization of these reptiles.<sup>555</sup>

Finally, we must remark that in the Zurvanite cult, serpents are directly connected with Zurvan<sup>556</sup> because, as god of time, he has snakes in his belly.<sup>557</sup>

In the end, we have proof of a serpent cult even in the Iranian realm; despite the clear Zoroastrian hatred for these animals, their importance to Indian cults has been preserved in the Śākadvīpīya tradition, supported by the Iranian acceptance of snakes in pre-Zoroastrian and Zurvanite customs, and even within Zoroastrian tradition in the form of the *Mār Nāmeh*. In the end, even Sāmba acts like a snake, exchanging his leprous skin for a new, healthy one (Bh. I. 127, 28b): [...] *tan mumoca malaṁ sāṁbo dehāt tvacam ivoragah* // ‘Sāmba [was] set free from that impurity [losing his] skin from [his] body like a serpent.’

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<sup>554</sup> Cf. MODI 1893.

<sup>555</sup> Cf. NABARZ 2006: 12.

<sup>556</sup> The figure of Zurvan has been connected to the Mithraic Aion (cf. for example F. CUMONT’s works on Mithraism, especially CUMONT 1903).

<sup>557</sup> STIETENCRON 1966: 266.

## 2.8 The Prohibition of Agriculture

One might argue that the practice of owing goods is not appropriate for a Brāhmaṇa. In the Purāṇic texts, we find a prohibition against possessing property; otherwise, the Bhojakas would become like the *devalaka* Brāhmaṇas<sup>558</sup> (cf. Bh. I. 117. 5; 139. 18, 21–22)<sup>559</sup> and fall into disgrace.<sup>560</sup> The idea of accepting material goods is considered degrading for a Brāhmaṇa. Even nowadays, Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas tend to underscore the fact that their priests do not accept any kind of material reward for their activity (cf. paragraph 5.1). For this reason, the prohibition of trade is understandable:<sup>561</sup> *vāṇijyāṁ krṣisevāṁ tu vedānāṁ niṁdanāṁ ca ye / kurvamti bhojakā jñeyāḥ sarve te mama vairiṇah //* ‘[The sun god said: …] The Bhojakas who are involved in trade, in agriculture, and who despise the Vedas, they are all known for being my enemies’ (Bh. I. 147, 4). Beside the impropriety of trade (*vāṇijya*-), it is stated, here and in other sections of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, that Bhojakas cannot practise agriculture: [...] *karṣaṇāṁ ye prakurvate [...] vijñeyā patitās tu te / [...]* ‘[...] [Those who] cultivate a land [...], they are known as the fallen [ones] [...]’ (Bh. I. 147, 5). STIETENCRON (1996: 271) highlights the fact that this feature is common to Buddhists: it is forbidden for Buddhist monks to practise trade or agriculture. Buddha expressed his opinion on this activity, judging it inappropriate, because

<sup>558</sup> ‘The temple priests had long had a low status among the different Brahman subcastes, and were labelled with the pejorative term *devalaka*’ (HÜSKEN 2009: 54). The *devalakas* used to attend the deity’s service, and because of this activity, they were considered impure. In earlier times, this figure used to carry the divine image, and was a servant of the god’s image, but the term was also used in the wider sense of ‘temple priest’. The *Smṛti* texts do not agree on the reason for the low status assigned to these priests: probably, taking care of the temple implied circumstances that polluted their Brāhmaṇical status, or perhaps it was due to their lower level of education.

<sup>559</sup> Bh. I. 117: *devālayeṣu ye vīprāḥ prītyā māṇ pūjayaṇti hi / anyāś ca devatāvṛtyā te syur devalakāḥ khaga // etasmāt kāraṇān mahyāṁ bhojako deyitāḥ sadā // 5*

Bh. I. 139: *yadi devārthatānām syāt tato devalakā dvijāḥ // devadravyābhilāṣāś ca brāhmaṇyāṁ tu vimuṇcati / 18 [...] dvijo devalako yatra paṁktyāṁ bhumkte mahīpate / annāny upaspr̄ṣen nīcā sā paṁktih pāpam ācaret // 21 dvijo devalako yasya samṣkāram samprayacchat / so 'dhomukhān pitṛnt sarvān ākramya vinipātayet // 22*

<sup>560</sup> Bh. I. 146: *sevako bhojako yas tu śūdrānnām yena bhujyate / kṛṣim ca kurute yas tu devārcām api varjayet // 14 jātakarmādayo yasya na samṣkārāḥ kṛtā vibho / āruṇeyaiś ca maṇtraiś ca sāvitrīṇ na ca vai paṭhet / tasya gehe dvijo bhuktvā kṛcchrapādena śudhyati // 15*

<sup>561</sup> Nowadays, many Śākdvīpīya people, especially in Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, are involved in business, demonstrating that this prohibition is no longer valid. In any case, the prohibition in the texts was probably mandatory for Śākdvīpīyas (and, in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, for Bhojakas specifically) who had strict priestly functions.

the acts of ploughing and hoeing imply the deaths of the creatures living in the earth. Moreover, it is considered a violent act towards the ground.

The Purāṇa itself is ambivalent on the topic:

*sāmba uvāca*

*agrāhyam ced dvijātibhyah kasmai deyam idam mayā // 27a*

Sāmba said, ‘If the Brāhmaṇas refuse [the properties], to whom shall I give them?’ [...]

*gauramukha uvāca*

*magāya samprayaccha tvam puram etac chubham vibho /  
tasyādhikāro devānne devatānām ca pūjane // 28*

Gauramukha said ‘O king, offer this beautiful city to Maga, who is the authority (*adhikāra*) on the food of the gods and on their worship.’

(Bh. I. 139)

In addition, we will see that later texts and inscriptions describe the allocation of land and villages to the Śākadvīpiyas. The two versions could have been added to the *Bhavisya-purāṇa* at two different times. In this text, we also find other unusual prescriptions or claims, like the fact that the Bhojakas’ food is edible. Unfortunately, we do not have enough information to reconstruct the social environment in which this section was composed, but we may postulate that at a certain moment, the Bhojakas lost their status of *brāhmaṇas* to such an extent that their food was considered inedible, like the *śūdras*’ (Bh. I. 146). Perhaps they were criticized for owning property, and accused of being *devalakas* (cf. HAZRA 1958: 97).

In any case, even if they are allowed to possess the god’s land and property, the text seems to be clear with regard to agricultural activity: Śākadvīpiyas cannot practise it. Personally, I do not know of any Hindū prescription that prohibits agriculture. On the contrary, on Indian soil, Buddhism and Jainism oppose this activity, mostly for reasons of non-violence.

In Buddhist sources, the Buddha is concerned first for the beings that live in the earth; in the *Suttavibhanga*, the first book of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the Buddha has a conversation with Moggallāna, who is worried because a nearby village is suffering a famine, and *bikṣus* cannot go there for alms. He states, ‘Lord, the under surface of this great earth is fertile, even as a flawless honey-comb. Good if were, lord, if I were to invert the earth, so that the monks might

enjoy the nutritive essence of the water-plants' (HORNER 1948: 14). So Buddha asks about the creatures in the earth and Moggallāna replies that he would care for them, letting them pass over the ploughed soil. But Buddha states, 'Take care, Moggallāna, please do not invert the earth, or beings may meet with derangement' (*ibid.*), expressing a rule concerning the ploughing of soil. In the *Sutta-piṭaka*—specifically in the first section of the *Sutta-nipāta*, called *Uravagga*<sup>562</sup>—the Buddha meets the Brāhmaṇa Kasibhāradvāja, who is ploughing and sowing. He suggests that Buddha do the same, and Gautama replies that he ploughs and sows as well (NORMAN 2001: 10):

76. 'You say you are a ploughman, but we do not see your ploughing. Being asked, tell us about your ploughing, so that we may know your ploughing.'

77. 'Faith is the seed, penance is the rain, wisdom is my yoke, and plough; modesty is the pole, mind is the [yoke-]tie, mindfulness is my ploughshare and goad. [...]

80. Thus is this ploughing [of mine] ploughed. It has the death-free as its fruit. Having ploughed this ploughing one is freed from all misery.'

Therefore, the 'interior ploughing' is more valuable than the external activity. The Buddha himself is a ploughing man, but the instruments, process and fruits are very different.

Finally, HINÜBER (2002: 82) mentions the casual remark in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya* (Spk III 32,25–33,5), namely about a *samaṇa-kuṭimbika* who lives as a farmer with the other monks without leaving the order. It is evident that, even within the Buddhist order, there have been many changes over the centuries. Even so, the general rule is that agriculture is forbidden in accordance with the precept of *ahimsā*. The same is obviously valid for Jains, too.

We have already mentioned the fact that Hindū tradition has no problem with agricultural activity. This activity achieved an even higher status in the Iranian-Zoroastrian world: from ancient times, the importance of agriculture in Iranian society was enormous, especially for its role in the transition from nomadic to sedentary life. Agriculture was the economic and social basis of all Persian governments for millennia.<sup>563</sup> In *Yast* XIII 89, it is stated that Zarathuštra himself was the first priest, the first warrior, the first farmer<sup>564</sup> (*yō paoiriīō āθrauua yō paoiraō rāθaēṣṭā yō paoiraō vāstriīō fšuiiās*). The *Avesta* does not offer much information about

<sup>562</sup> 'The chapter of the serpent'. In the name of this section, we find further confirmation of the importance of snakes in Buddhism.

<sup>563</sup> Cf. EHLERS 1984: *passim*.

<sup>564</sup> Cf. CANNIZZARO 1990: 29 f. DARMESTETER (1992: 58) translates 'husbandman' instead of 'farmer'.

agriculture. In the *Gāthās* (XXXIII 3, 4, 6; XLV 4; XLVI 3; XLVII 5; XLIX 2; L 5,7), the fields are described in relation to pastoralism; in the *Wīdēwdād* (III, 24-29, 30-33; V 52-53; VI 2, 3, 5-6; VII 32-33, 35; XIV 10-11), agriculture is presented as the chief and most honourable activity for a man.<sup>565</sup> In *Fargard* XIV, the instruments for working the land are listed. Nevertheless, it is in *Fargard* III that we find the most important description of the benefits of agricultural activity. Paragraphs 24 to 29 are about the duty of the land cultivation; from paragraph 30 to 33, agriculture is described as a praiseworthy activity.<sup>566</sup> The statement ‘He who sows corn, sows holiness: he makes the law of Mazda grow higher and higher [...]’ (31; cf. DARMESTETER 1992: 29 f.) is emblematic.

Even classical sources (cf. *Plb.* X. 28; *Xen. Cyr.* VI, 20, VIII, 6, 16) confirm the importance of agriculture to the Persians (cf. CANNIZZARO 1990: 32 f.). Therefore, agriculture is not only the most important and honest means of profit for men, but also a meritorious act towards Ahura Mazdā.

Juxtaposed with this positive attitude toward cultivation, in the Iranian world we also find examples of this activity being condemned, namely in Manicheism. Buddhism spread to western lands, too, and ‘[...] in east Iranian areas, Buddhism used preexisting Zoroastrian and Hellenic nuances to explain its own particular message’ (SCOTT 1995: 154). Mani was certainly inspired by it in many respects,<sup>567</sup> and possibly the prohibition of agriculture in his doctrine is also the result of contact with Buddhism. Respect for natural elements like the earth seems to be the chief motivation for Mani’s refusal. The *Dēnkard* III, criticizing Mani’s doctrine, indirectly informs us about the Manichaean prohibition of agriculture: ‘[...] il peccatore Mani (farfugliò) una dottrina che nega la coltivazione [...]’ (CERETI 2006: 247). The prohibition of agriculture may have been the most important reason for the repression of Manicheism under

<sup>565</sup> CANNIZZARO 1990: 30.

<sup>566</sup> *Ivi*: 40 f.: ‘23. – Creatore, ecc. ... Signore! Chi in quarto luogo rallegra della massima gioia questa terra? Allora disse Ahura Mazda: Colui, invero, o Spitama Zarathustra, che semina maggiormente e frumenti e pascoli e piante fruttifere e porta acqua a un *luogo* arido, e porta siccità a un *luogo* acquitrinoso.

24. – Giacché non è felice la terra che giace lungamente non lavorata, mentre (46) dovrebbe essere lavorata dall’agricoltore. Desiderosa è perciò di un buon abitatore; (47) così una bella ragazza, che si trova a lungo senza figli, è perciò desiderosa di un buon marito.

25. – Chi lavora la terra, o Spitama Zarathustra, col braccio sinistro o col destro, col braccio destro e col sinistro, le arreca un godimento (48), precisamente come l’uomo amato, giacendo sul letto, fornisce alla cara sposa un figlio o un godimento.

[...]

31. – Colui il quale coltiva il frumento, costui coltiva la fede, costui accresce (54) la Legge Mazdeana di cento residenze, di mille dimore, di diecimila preghiere Yaçns (55).

32. – Quando è maturo il grano, allora i daeva gemono; quando il vaglio è pronto, allora i daeva si smarriscono; quando la molitura è fatta, allora i daeva urlano; quando la pasta è pronta allora i daeva spetazzano (56). Rimanendo ancora, i daeva distruggono in casa questa pasta (57). Quando il frumento è copioso, sembrano posti in fuga, come se fossero fortemente bruciati in bocca da un ferro (58).’

<sup>567</sup> On this topic, cf. BRYDER 2005.

the Sasanians. In an economic system based on agriculture and a society ruled by landowners, the Manichean condemnation of this activity was very dangerous.<sup>568</sup> Manicheism arrived in China, and its highest point was reached with the conversion of Moyu (Bogu) Khan of the Uighur Turks in 762. ‘Manicheism continued to flourish and was rewarded with productive agricultural lands which were used for the cultivation of wine-grapes, despite the religion’s rules against intoxication’,<sup>569</sup> and against cultivation as well. This is evidence that the general rule admitted some exceptions.

In SRIVASTAVA’s opinion (1996: 60), the reason for the prohibition most probably lay in the wealthy status of the land-owning Bhojakas, whom the other Brāhmaṇas wanted to declass. In my opinion, it is more plausible to think about external influences, especially because we are dealing with the *Bhavisya-purāṇa*, which is clearly rich with interpolations. I do not exclude the possibility of Buddhist, Jain or even Manichean influences; in these Purāṇic sections, we find other features, like the shaving of the head, the reddish-brown garments and even the cult of serpents, that could be an echo of Buddhism. After all, the syncretistic atmosphere of northern India is the perfect setting for this kind of influence. Moreover, such scenarios are quite typical of all the territories of the Iranian and Indian world, since they have always been characterized by continuous mutual exchange.<sup>570</sup>

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<sup>568</sup> Cf. PANAINO 2016: 44.

<sup>569</sup> LIEU 2002.

<sup>570</sup> On this topic, see also PALLADINO 20??c.

### 3. Late Poems

#### 3.1 The *Magavyakti*<sup>571</sup>

In 1879, A.F. Weber published an important article for studies on the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas: ‘Über die Magavyakti des Krishṇadāsa Miçra’. It appeared in the *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussische Akademie des Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, and it was the continuation of Weber’s work on the Maga Brāhmaṇas, which he started in 1857 with his *Indische Skizzen* (pp. 104–106).

In 1877, Weber writes, he received the manuscript of the poem from Oudh (the modern name of Ayodhyā), and edited the text in his paper; the manuscript is now preserved in a group of manuscripts that Weber himself left to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The Ms.or.oct. 347, containing the text *Magavyakti*, is the same used by Weber and edited in WEBER 1879.

This late poem must probably<sup>572</sup> be attributed to Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra, a poet active at the court of Akbar around the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He is also the author of the *Pārasīprakāśa*<sup>573</sup>, a grammar of Persian (*pārasī*), which follows the paradigms of traditional Sanskrit grammar in order to explain the Persian one, and provides a Persian-Sanskrit dictionary. His approach is perfectly in line with the aim of the Moghul court, the enthusiasm towards other philosophies, religions and languages, and the translations of sacred texts, promoted (and maybe directly carried out) by Dārā Šikoh.<sup>574</sup>

We have also a date on the manuscript, *samvat* 1920, with Weber’s annotation ‘1869’: the date is calculated according to the Vikrama era, which starts around 58 B.C., and is in contrast with the Śaka calendar; the name of the era comes from the name of the king Vikrama, who

<sup>571</sup> The conclusions in this section were reached mostly over the period I spent in Vienna (25 January to 29 February 2016), where I enjoyed very useful consultations about onomastic matters with Doz. Dr. Velizar Sadovski. Furthermore, the opportunity to use the materials at the Institut für Iranistik, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and at the Fachbereichsbibliothek Südasien-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde, Universität Wien, improved the results of my research.

<sup>572</sup> In a note on the text, we read the attribution ‘by Maithila’ (cf. also WEBER 1879: 446), but in the closing of the first section, ff. 10–11, we find the name Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra.

<sup>573</sup> Weber would deal with this text in his 1887 paper ‘Über den Pārasīprakāça des Krishṇadāsa’, in *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Sitzungberichte 4*, and in ‘Über den zweiten, grammatischen, Pārasīprakāça des Krishṇadāsa’, in *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Sitzungsberichte 41*, 1889.

<sup>574</sup> We know that the prince Dārā Šikoh (1615–1659) promoted the translation of more than fifty *Upaniṣads* into Persian. He closely studied the doctrines of Śaṅkara’s Advaita Vedānta and was also the author of some treatises, like the *Majma’ al-ba rayn* [The Mingling of the Two Oceans], in which he relates some Hindū principles to the Islamic ones; there is also a redaction of the work in Sanskrit, with the title *Samudrasaṅgama*, for Indian scholars. This work by Dārā Šikoh was also translated into Italian: D’ONOFRIO & SPEZIALE 2011.

Under the pretense that his search for contacts between Induism and Islam constituted blasphemy, but principally for political reasons, Dārā Šikoh was condemned to death for heresy.

initiated it after having defeated the Śakas. Even if the date was 58 B.C., to calculate it in relation to our calendar, we generally subtract 56 to 57 years.<sup>575</sup>

The manuscript is a calligraphic masterpiece, very orderly and well written; in *nāgarī*, the text is very legible and clear. There are very few corrections, by another hand and by Weber himself. A peculiarity of the text is that not a single *dāṇḍa* appears; the subdivision of the verses is marked by a blank space or by a number at the end of each line.

Another manuscript of this text is preserved at the Rājasthān Oriental Research Institute (RORI) in Jodhpur. It is a beautiful example of a late paper manuscript. It carries the date *saṃvat* 1954 (i.e., ca. 1900 A.D.). Written in *devanāgarī* script, it is composed of 15 folios. In the same manuscript, after the *Magavyakti*, there are 39 more pages about topics related to the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas: 18 folios are probably by the same hand, and deal with the sections of the *Sāmba-* and *Bhāviṣya-purāṇas* about Bhojakas. The following six pages contain some parts of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, and the last 11 contain annotations: we find the list of texts about Bhojakas and Magas (the *Samskṛtabhavisya*, *Devibhagavata*, *Bhāviṣya-*, *Sāmba-*, *Brahma-*, *Shiva-* and *Matsya-purāṇas*), the *gotrāvalī* and, finally, quotations from the *Saura-purāṇa*,<sup>576</sup> *Agni-purāṇa* and *Padma-purāṇa*. In the sixth folio of annotations, two names are mentioned, *Jailāla jī kavi* and *Vāṇḍa jī*, and the name of the city of Jodhpur is present, too; this suggests that the handwritten annotations could have been later notes by the owner of the manuscript. Whereas Weber's manuscript features no *dāṇḍas* at all, in this one we consistently find the double *dāṇḍa*, even for semi-verses.

The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (DASH 2007: 10) informs us of the presence of two other manuscripts of the *Magavyakti*. One is part of the Weber Collection at the Library of Congress (No. 5459), in Washington, DC: it is composed of 12 pages in Roman cursive script, and consists of a transcription of Weber's manuscript, preserved in Berlin. The other, according to the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Existing in Oudh* (1878), was in the private collection of Rājan Rāmanātha, and for this reason it is difficult to locate nowadays.

The *Magavyakti* is a glorification of the Magas and their merits (real or supposed) in poetry, medicine and the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Weber postulated that Kṛṣṇadāsa was himself a Maga Brāhmaṇa, and that his poem is probably a way to exalt and legitimize this social group within

<sup>575</sup> On this topic, and for a description of the Indian eras in general, see for example FLEET 1888: 16–23; LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1949: 1–72; DIKSHIT 1952–53.

<sup>576</sup> The presence of this *Saura-purāṇa* is very interesting; it could have been the core of *Saura* literature, a text now lost (cf. SANDERSON 2009: 55), or another name for the *Sāmba-purāṇa* itself.

Indian society. The topic of the work, a list of names, some pseudo-etymologies and observations on the importance of these figures in Indian culture, is quite unusual. Behind the composition of the *Magavyakti* there is probably an agenda, political or social, for the promotion of the Magas within Indian society. Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra could indeed have been part of the community, and an indication of this can be found in his name, *Miśra*, which even nowadays is a typical Śākadvīpiya surname. Another possible reason for the composition of this poem may have been the substantial presence of the Magas in the areas where the *Magavyakti* took form, and such a work was useful for legitimizing their presence and their importance as Brahmins.

The language is pleasant and correct, the metre and the versification accurate and refined; the metres employed are *ślokas* (just a small number), *vasantatilakā* (two verses), *mālinī* (one verse), *sārdūlavikrīdita* (23), and *sragdharā* (45)<sup>577</sup>.

Even if it is a late poem, it is written in an excellent Sanskrit; the lexicon employed is cultivated, even pompous in some cases. Beyond the beauty of the language, the content is very sparse and simple; the main point is the lists of names in various sections. Every name is accompanied by an exaltation of the Magas and their merits in various disciplines. The same expressions are even repeated throughout the poem, making it almost tedious, and ‘[...] Redewendungen kehren daher wiederholt wieder’ (WEBER 1879: 448).

Here is a new edition of the text, improved by the manuscript found in Jodhpur, in order to illustrate its nature and to provide an analysis of the names it lists.

// śrīgaṇeśāya namah //

I.

sūryan-natvā trisandhyam hariharavidhayo yatpadāvjan namanto  
 rakṣā-saṃvarta-sargān vidadhati jagatām īśvarās te gunaiḥ svaiḥ /  
 vakṣye vyaktim̄ magānām vividhapurajuṣām jñānatejonidhīnām  
 vidvadvṛndābhivamdyām nikhilagunamayīm candraśubhrām yaśobhiḥ // 1  
 nāham kavir nijakavivagunaiḥ kavīnām  
 cetoharo na ca vudho vudhavargamānyah /  
 bhaktyaiva kevalam aśeṣamagābhidhāna-  
 saṃvartanair gunamayaīs svamukham punāmi // 2

<sup>577</sup> For information on the verses, listed according to the metre employed, and the explanation of the structure of the different metres, see WEBER 1879: 448–449.

magapadamahimāvahir mandaras sādhusaṅgah  
 suraditijasamājaś śiṣṭaduṣṭapralānah<sup>578</sup> /  
 mathanasamaya āśit kṛṣṇakāvyārthacando<sup>579</sup>  
 magamanasi manojñām̄ modamāviś<sup>580</sup> karotu // 3  
 kṛṣṇāśāpasamudbhūtaśām̄vakuṣṭāpanuttaye<sup>581</sup> /  
 kṛṣṇājñayā magāṁs tārkṣyaś śākā<sup>582</sup> dvīpādihānayat / 4  
 dvāveva ca samārūḍhau tārkṣyaprṣṭham̄ sudurgamam /  
 kṛṣṇo vā jagatām̄ nātho mago<sup>583</sup> vā brāhmaṇottamah // 5  
 caturviṁśatisaṁkhyākā jayanty ārā magais sahā<sup>584</sup> /  
 prakhyātā dvādaśādityāmaṇḍalā dvādaśottamah // 6  
 saptārkā vahuśo yenyē karās te svargamokṣadāh /  
 yathāśrutam̄ yathāvuddhi vaksyate 'tra yathākraman // 7  
 uruḥ khanetuḥ cheriś ca makhapā ca kurāyica /  
 devākulī bhalunī ca ḍumarī paḍarī tathā // 8  
 adayī<sup>585</sup> ca pavairī ca onḍarī pūty atah parā /  
 esivaurī saraiś chatra bārāvadhy<sup>586</sup> oni jamvu ca // 9  
 sikaurī madaraudī ca haradaulīti nāmataḥ /  
 ārās saṁsārasārās te caturviṁśatir īritāh // 10  
 urutvād uruvārās te tannāmapurayogataḥ /  
 uruvāra iti khyāto magamaṇḍalamāṇḍanaḥ // 11  
 nyāyoktais tairabhuktā vivadanavidhibhis sādhuvaišeśikoktair  
 gauḍīyāś cotkalā ye vivudhakavigaṇāś tepi mīmāṁsayoktaih /  
 sāṁkhyoktair dākṣiṇātyāś śivasadasi pure divyavedāntasūktaiḥ  
 samtoṣam̄ ye<sup>587</sup> prañītā urupuru ja-magāś tārkikā<sup>588</sup> te jayanti // 12  
 vaktraṇīva harasya vodhanilaye lokopavārakṣamā<sup>589</sup>  
 bhūtānīva vaśīkṛtaurasajusāṁ kāntavyavāyā iva /

<sup>578</sup> RORI: -pratānah

<sup>579</sup> RORI: kṛṣṇakāvyārthacando; above the text, there is another hand's annotation: kṛṣṇakāvyārthacandro  
<sup>580</sup> In RORI the *sa* is not clear.

<sup>581</sup> RORI: kṛṣṇāśāpasamudbhūtaśām̄vakuṣṭāpanuttaye

<sup>582</sup> In RORI the symbol which indicates the long *a* is cancelled: śāka-

<sup>583</sup> RORI: nāthamago

<sup>584</sup> In W. the visarga has been cancelled and replaced with long *a*.

<sup>585</sup> RORI: adapī

<sup>586</sup> RORI: chatravārāvadhyo

<sup>587</sup> RORI: yai

<sup>588</sup> RORI: tārkikāś

<sup>589</sup> RORI: lokopacārakṣamā

kāvyasyaiva<sup>590</sup> kaver jayāya dharayā samprārthite ca dhruvam  
 dhāvā<sup>591</sup> paṁcamahākule 'tra kavayah sr̄ṣṭā viśiṣṭā gunaiḥ // 13  
 khanan yāti girīm cāsmāt khanedvāra iti smṛtaḥ /  
 tannāma purayogena khaṇṭakārobhīyate<sup>592</sup> // 14  
 vedān vaktraiś caturbhīs svasadasi caturo 'sārthakān eva vaktā  
 vrahmā yebhyo 'bhyasūyām vyadhita taditare paṇḍitāḥ ke varākāḥ /  
 ekāsyena sphuṭārtham vividhanṛpapuraḥ sāṅgavedān paṭhdabhyo<sup>593</sup>  
 rejur bhūpālācūḍāmaṇinatacaraṇāḥ khaṇṭavārā magās te // 15  
 cherir nāmnā mahānāras tannāmapurayogataḥ /  
 cheriāra iti śrīmān nijavamśābjahāskarah<sup>594</sup> // 16  
 devān sr̄ṣṭavatā vaśiṣṭhamahasā bhūmātrabhūṣādarād  
 ye sr̄ṣṭāḥ parameṣṭhinā<sup>595</sup> 'vanisurās sac<sup>596</sup> cheriārānvaye /  
 te trailokyam abhūṣayan nijaguṇais tejobhir āpūritā  
 jñātām tena svabhāvato jagad iyam sr̄ṣṭir na me yatnataḥ // 17  
 svadhiṣṭmyāt<sup>597</sup> tu sureṇāro makhaṇ pāti makhadviṣaḥ /  
 makhapās tatpuraprāpto makhapāro 'bhīdīyate // 18  
 śaktyā śaktidharopamāḥ pravacasā vācaspatisparddhino  
 jetāro vivudhān surān iva gunaiḥ pāre parārddham gataiḥ /  
 vālāḥ kāvyakṛto bhavam̄ti kim ūto ye 'jñā vayojñādhikās  
 sattakīrṇavasam̄plavavyavasinas<sup>598</sup> te makhapavārā<sup>599</sup> magāḥ // 19  
 dhūḥśrīkāmendudevatvāt kurāyica iti smṛtaḥ /  
 tadvān varauci vāro sau gotrataḥ kila kauśikāḥ // 20  
 yeṣām vidhyā vivāde 'mvudhir iva viṣamā khaṇḍanondrāhadhorām<sup>600</sup>  
 gaṁbhīrādhyāpaneṣu śrutiśaraṇisamākhyātaratnākarātyāḥ /  
 sujñais satprātravijñair<sup>601</sup> api vari-kalane śāsvadaprāptapārā

<sup>590</sup> W.: kāvyaspaiva

<sup>591</sup> RORI: dhātrā

<sup>592</sup> RORI: khaṇṭavārobhīyate

<sup>593</sup> RORI: paṭhdabhyo

<sup>594</sup> W.: nijavamśābjahāskarah

<sup>595</sup> W.: parameṣṭinā

<sup>596</sup> W.: the *c* in *sac* has been added later; in RORI it is lacking.

<sup>597</sup> WEBER (1879: 477) reads svadhiṣṭyāntusureṇā; in W. it is almost illegible: svadhinla-tusureṇā.

<sup>598</sup> RORI: sattarkārṇavasam̄plavavya(sa)ninas; the *-sa-* in brackets is added. In W. also the part *-vyava-* is a successive modification.

<sup>599</sup> RORI: makhpavārā

<sup>600</sup> RORI: khaṇḍanodghāhadhīrā

<sup>601</sup> RORI: satpātravijñair; the *r* of *-pra-* is cancelled in the manuscript.

vigyāvatpā<sup>602</sup> vitañdā bhramiṣu magavarāś samvabhuḥ kaiśikāś te // 21  
 śāstraughā makarādayaḥ śrutijalāś tattatkavitvormayo  
 vādārvatamayā pravodhamanayaḥ pākhaṇḍadaityoddhatāḥ /  
 tīrnā yair nijavuddhipotam atulaṁ samśritya vidhyārṇavāś  
 te mī devakuāravamśakamalaprodhbāśi sūryyā magāḥ // 22  
 yeśāṁ jajñaiḥ<sup>603</sup> sutṛpto hutahavir aśitun na śakañ<sup>604</sup> jāta vedāś  
 taiḥ svais sausyasvabhāvair viniyamavidhine vodgṛhītotatejāḥ<sup>605</sup> /  
 vedārthogrāhavijñā sphuṭam akhilamukhe vedavedipragalbhāḥ  
 śāstrāraṇyograsimhā puravarabhalunī-sindhucandā magāś te // 23  
 ye<sup>606</sup> sadbhiḥ pūrvagaṇyā yudhi vijayakṛte yān namamti sma vīrāḥ  
 ye cakruḥ kāryyamuccair munibhir upakṛtair yebhya āśīḥ kṛtā yaiḥ /  
 yebhyo 'chebhyo yathā sīn navarasajananām brahma yeśāṁ manastham  
 yeśv ācāras<sup>607</sup> sthiro 'bhūt puravaraḍumarīsambhavāś san-magāś te // 24  
 yasyāṁ āmnāyapāṭhair magamaṇitanayāḥ paścimāṁ rātriyāmam  
 pratyūṣa-snānasandhyāvidhiravikiraṇair bhūṣayantaś ca rejuḥ /  
 madhyānhan nittyakarmadviguṇitamaha sā sāyam udbhāṣayantas  
 saddharmoddhāmadīpaiḥ puravarapaḍarī śobhate sā prasastā // 25  
 ye vedārthapravīṇāḥ praṇamati janatā yān viśiṣṭān guṇaughair  
 yair dṛṣṭāntas trilokī harir iva praṇidhau yebhya indroditārthān /  
 yebhyoṁśān prāpya yajñe<sup>608</sup> vabhur amaragaṇāś śarmma yeśāṁ  
 ivaiśāṁ saujanyāṁ yeṣy apūrva<sup>609</sup> pravilasad adayī satkulāś san-magāś te // 26  
 yeśāṁ eṣā yabherī parisarivilasadyajñapūpasvarūpā<sup>610</sup>  
 dhūmair ādhūtāpāpā magahutaha viśāṁ gandhibhir mantrapūtaiḥ /  
 gānais saṃgītasānaiḥ pratihatavilasat-sarva-gandharva-rājair  
 gīrvāṇaika-pravīṇair hariharavidhayas toṣitāś san-magāś te // 27  
 vaidyāś sapta prasiddhāḥ pratividhiniyataiḥ pathyabhaiṣajyayogair  
 ghnanti vyādhīn narāṇāṁ śiva-kathitarasair yoginas tv oṇḍarījāḥ /

<sup>602</sup> W.: the last *-pā* is not clear; it may be a *-yā* as well.

<sup>603</sup> W.: jajñais

<sup>604</sup> RORI: the *-ñ* seems cancelled for a *-j*.

<sup>605</sup> RORI: vodgṛhītotatejāḥ

<sup>606</sup> RORI: se

<sup>607</sup> RORI: only one *-s-*; ācārasthiro

<sup>608</sup> RORI: jajñe

<sup>609</sup> RORI: apūrvam pravilasad

<sup>610</sup> RORI: parisaravila-

tyaktvā tadvaktrakamprākṛdahana<sup>611</sup> iva ṭṛṇam nirdaheyur magās  
 te dūram yāte ‘ti rogān vadati vahudaro rājarogoparogān // 28  
 ye vidyāvādadakṣā guṇigaṇaśa kunigrāmaviśrāmaṇvṛksās  
 satpakṣasthāpanekṣā kṣaṇam api kudhiyā sthātum evānapekṣāḥ /  
 yeṣām eṣā suveṣā nikhilapuragaṇair garvitastrīva pūtis  
 vargameṣv<sup>612</sup> ādilekhyāḥ kuśalakavivudhaiḥ pūtiārā<sup>613</sup> magās te // 29  
 yentaś cit tat dadhānā haripadakamaladvandvam ānandakandaṁ  
 vāhyavyāpāraśaktāḥ śrutiniyatapathair indriyair indrakalpāḥ /  
 śiṣyair devair ivendo nirkhilaguṇagaṇaiśvaryyam icchadbhir uccair  
 aiārās sevyamānā nṛpasadasi magā bhāgyavanto jayanti // 30  
 khyātā dikṣu sivairiārakulajā vedāntadīrghāṭavī-simhā  
 brāhmaṇabhbhāskarā bhavatamonāśollasadvārkarāḥ /  
 kartum svargasamāṁ dharām api surāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ kim u brāhmaṇā<sup>614</sup> bhūmyāṁ  
 bhūriguṇās tataḥ prabhṛti kim sarve dvijā bhūbhujah // 31  
 sūte siddhāntacandrān divi yamadhavatas samśayodhe pradoṣe  
 vāde śrī harṣadhīman yaramatavaca-sāṁ khaṇḍanāny udbhaṭānām<sup>615</sup> /  
 uktīr muktāṣva sūktīr iva sati samaye kāpi velāmvurāśer  
 yeṣām vidyā vicitrā vasava iva magās te saraiārasañjñāḥ // 32  
 samyak pamcāgnitaptā vahiripuriśilā<sup>616</sup> vātavarṣātāpārtāḥ  
 prāleyaplāvite masy atimaruti niśiśraddhyā kaṇṭhamagnāḥ /  
 ity evam ye tapasyaṁs trisamayam anīśam viṣṇum aṁtam<sup>617</sup> smarantaś  
 sāṁtās te vijñavijñā munaya iva magāś chatravārā virejuḥ // 33  
 rejuś te ’tithivartakograhalaśadvāravratasneḥavān  
 nakṣatraughaśivas supātrakaraṇo yogaprakāśo valaḥ /  
 vāgveyādhikṛte<sup>618</sup> hr̥daṁvujagṛhe sūte trikālajñatāṁ  
 sadvāramvaravāra-vamśatuṣāñ<sup>619</sup> jyotiḥ pradīpodbhutaḥ // 34  
 ye gambhīrāṁbhas samudrā iva guṇamaṇibhir dyotitāṁtargariṣṭhāś  
 sanniṣṭhābhīr variṣṭhā iva sadasi satām māninoccaikaniṣṭhāḥ /

<sup>611</sup> RORI: -prākudahana

<sup>612</sup> RORI: pūtisvargamisv

<sup>613</sup> W.: pūliāra

<sup>614</sup> RORI: vrāhmaṇā

<sup>615</sup> W.: udbhayanām

<sup>616</sup> RORI: vahipariśilā

<sup>617</sup> W.: aṁtaḥ; the *visarga* is a later addition.

<sup>618</sup> RORI: vāgveṣādhikṛte

<sup>619</sup> RORI: vamjanuṣāñ

vidyādānair variṣṭhā vasava iva muhus sādhudattapratiṣṭhās  
 te yodhyārās suśīlāḥ parahitamatayas te magā rejur ucchaiḥ // 35  
 ācārair<sup>620</sup> munir eva devaguruvedādividyāgurur<sup>621</sup>  
 yorjair<sup>622</sup> yogam adūduhan nijakṛtā niṣkāmakāmoccayān /  
 soyodhyārakulāmvudhau vidhur iva śrī harṣasūnus sudhīr  
 miśraśrī madhusūdanas samajani śrīkṛṣṇabhaktipriyah // 36  
 śrīmān viṣṇupādaśrito 'mṛtamayaiḥ pūrṇaḥ kalāsamcayaīś  
 śāśval lokayaśaḥprasādaśubhago<sup>623</sup> devādhidevapriyah /  
 samprāpto dvijamukhyatāṁ nijatapovidyāsadācārato  
 rājat putra janārdanosya tanayaś candah payodher iva [// 37]  
 ye rudrā iva vodhato dinakarāḥ prodyatprakāśā dyathā  
 bhūtāni kṣamayeva devavasavah pāṇḍityadharmaṁ iva //  
 jātā<sup>624</sup> onipure magās sucaritaiḥ khyātās satām iṣṭadāś  
 śiṣṭais te bhuvi kena kena mahasā dṛṣṭās samudbhāvitāḥ // 38  
 gaṇyās sādhujanena rājanivahair mānyā vadānyāḥ param  
 saujanyāmṛtapūrṇapuṇyāhṛdayā dhanyā dharanyām iha /  
 jātā jambupure<sup>625</sup> surarṣaya ivāmarṣātiriktā magā  
 hutvānekahavīṁṣi varhiṣi hareḥ prītyai tapaś cakrire // 39  
 śīlais sarvaguṇākarair nijavaśam lokān nayanto 'niśan  
 nirdvāṇḍvāḥ prayatendriyaiḥ pratidināḥ bhaktyā bhajamto harim /  
 dīnānugrahatatparās sudhanino vidyānavadyā vabhus  
 sadbhāvena sikauriārakulajāḥ<sup>626</sup> khyātāḥ pravīṇāḥ magāḥ // 40  
 mātaṅgās tuṅgaśailapratinidhivapuṣo vājino vāyuvegā  
 grāmās svarṇānnapūrṇās surabhīgaṇakhuroddhūtadhūlīvīkīrṇāḥ /  
 vāsoratnair vicitrās subhaṭapaṭutarāḥ kiṁ karoccāvanīśāt  
 prāptā yais te bhaḍaulīpurasadi magāḥ paṇḍitā rejuruccaiḥ // 41  
 khyātās te haradauliārakulajā yeśām magānām makhair  
 jāyante munayah sadā sumanasah śāntās samastā diśah /

<sup>620</sup> W.: ācāraimunir

<sup>621</sup> W.: vedādividyāguru

<sup>622</sup> RORI: yojbair

<sup>623</sup> RORI: -prasādaśrubhago

<sup>624</sup> RORI: jāto

<sup>625</sup> W.: jamvupure

<sup>626</sup> W.: sikauriārakulajās

bhūmira sasyavatī<sup>627</sup> drumā vahuphalā gāvo vahukṣīradā  
 rājā nītiparo dvijā gatabhayā lokā na śokāturāḥ // 42  
 iti śrīman magakulakamalakalikā-prakāśaka<sup>628</sup> śrīmat pañditakulamañditakṛṣṇadāsamiśra  
 viracitāyām magavyaktau caturvīṁśatīravamśanirṇayo nāma prathamas taraṅgah //

II.

atha dvādaśādityāḥ //  
 dvādaśādityadevāḥ te vāruṇārkko vināśavāḥ /  
 muhurāśir devaḍīho ḍamarauro<sup>629</sup> guṇāśavāḥ // 1  
 kuṇḍā tathā malauṇḍāś ca gaṇḍāvas sarpahāpi ca /  
 arihāśir dehulāśir jayanty ete jaya-pradāḥ // 2  
 yeśām ajñām adhijñā maṇim iva śirasā dhārayanti kṣitīśās  
 sarvajñānām purastād adhikaguṇa tayā svīkṛtam sādhu sujñaiḥ /  
 pāṇḍityā<sup>630</sup> prauḍhigurvī nayavinayavido vedavedāṅgavijñā  
 vikhyātāḥ te pr̥thivyām munaya iva varā vāruṇārkā magāḥ te // 3  
 şaṣṭhīpūjānuraktāḥ tadanu vudhavarā vedavedāṅganiṣṭhā  
 bhānudhyānānuraktāḥ vibhavatanuvarā dhyānayogādhigamyāḥ /  
 sadbhāvāḥ satyasandhā magavaraviditā gotrataḥ kaśyapāḥ te  
 devāhvākhyapurodbhavā dvijavarāḥ te şaṣṭhahāyā magāḥ // 4  
 bhūrivyañjanarañjitorusamayā<sup>631</sup> nārāyaṇāyārpitā  
 niryāṁti prativāsare 'mṛtanadībhaktośvapād<sup>632</sup> uccakaiḥ /  
 nānāratnavato drutāḥ himavato gaṅgeva yanmandirāḥ  
 vādīndrā bhūvi vāruṇārkakulajāḥ te pañjahāyā magāḥ // 5  
 yat proktāḥ pañcahāyaprathitamagakulāḥ śīlavidyāviśālaḥ  
 tatrotkṛṣṭāḥ prabhāvair dinakarakarhīśānavāṁbhodhicandrāḥ<sup>633</sup> /  
 dhunvanto dhvāntatāyāḥ hṛdaya rathamitāḥ ṭhakkurāyā<sup>634</sup> magāḥ te  
 rejūḥ pūrṇāḥ kalābhīr nijakulakamalaḥ bhāsayantāḥ prasādaiḥ // 6  
 bhojyaiḥ<sup>635</sup> sarvarasair dvijāḥ iva surān 1 yañnais sadātoṣayan

<sup>627</sup> RORI: bhūmiś śasyavatī

<sup>628</sup> W.: makāśaka

<sup>629</sup> RORI: ḍumarauro

<sup>630</sup> RORI: pāṇḍitya

<sup>631</sup> RORI: -rasamayā

<sup>632</sup> RORI: 'mṛtanadībhaktoc cayād

<sup>633</sup> RORI: dinakarakarhīśānanāmbhodhicandrāḥ

<sup>634</sup> W.: ṭakkurāyā

<sup>635</sup> W.: bhojyais

vidyābhir vivudhān nṛpān iva guṇair vijñānān viśiṣṭānvayān /  
 dīnān dainyadavānalair<sup>636</sup> vitaraṇair jñānair iva jñāninas  
 te dhanyā bhuvi ye vināśavabhavā rājanta uccair magāḥ // 7  
 jātā<sup>637</sup> yetra vināśave magavarāś śāśvan<sup>638</sup> nṛsiṁhāśritāḥ  
 prāptānekaguṇair janādhipamano hartum samartha bhuvi /  
 tadvamśe dhvajavad vabhūva viditaś śrī-sukharo<sup>639</sup> vamśakṛd  
 vedajñāḥ kila vājapeyamakhakṛd vidyāvidām agraṇīḥ // 8  
 ye jātā muhurāśiśāsasanapayorāśīndavas<sup>640</sup> san-magā  
 vākyīyūṣamayāṁśavah kṛtadhiyāṁ cetoharān<sup>641</sup> svair guṇaiḥ /  
 kurvantotimudā taraṅgataralān proccaiḥ prapūrṇān rasais  
 te bhūpālalasadviśuddhasadasi prājñoḍu-pūrvam vabhuḥ // 9  
 yat pūrvam muhurāśivamśatilakam śrīman magānām kulaṁ  
 vrahme vātra kule 'janābhakamale 'sau dvaitanāmāpyabhūt /  
 yo yogīndrapadepsayā śrutiḍharo jitvendriyāṇām gaṇam  
 dhyāyan<sup>642</sup> viṣṇupadāmbujam<sup>643</sup> śivapadam cakretitīvram tapaḥ // 10  
 vālye vidyās samāpya pratidiśam akarod yauvane tīrthayātrām  
 svānte śāntim<sup>644</sup> prayāte vratam iha jagṛhe sāṅgasamnyāsam ugram /  
 samprāpto yoginām drāk śivaśivadapure mukhyatām pūrṇabodhād<sup>645</sup>  
 advaitādvaitanāśāt paya<sup>646</sup> iva payasā brahmaṇaikyam jagāma // 11  
 ye vidyāvinayākarāḥ kṣitisurāḥ santuṣṭubur<sup>647</sup> yān guṇaiḥ  
 kīrttir yair vitatā kṛtā nṛpatayo<sup>648</sup> yebhya 'pranemuś śriyaiḥ<sup>649</sup> /  
 sabhyā yebhya upādadur nayacayam<sup>650</sup> yeṣāṁ sthitir mehuse  
 yeṣu jñānam atīndriyam magavarāś te devaḍīhodbhavāḥ // 12  
 jyotiśśāstrasudīpadīpitadhiyā sarvajñabhbhāvam gatā

<sup>636</sup> RORI: dainyadavāmalair

<sup>637</sup> RORI: yāta

<sup>638</sup> RORI: śāśran

<sup>639</sup> RORI: susvaro

<sup>640</sup> W.: mahur-

<sup>641</sup> RORI: kṛtadhiyācetoharān

<sup>642</sup> W.: dhyāpan

<sup>643</sup> W.: viṣṇupadāṁvujam

<sup>644</sup> RORI: śānti

<sup>645</sup> W.: pūrṇavodhād

<sup>646</sup> RORI: yaya

<sup>647</sup> RORI: santuṣṭubu

<sup>648</sup> W.: nṛpatapo

<sup>649</sup> RORI: śriyai

<sup>650</sup> RORI: nayavayam

vedāntodbhavavodhacandramahasā vidhvastatāpatrayāḥ /  
 āyurvedamahāstrabhagnanikhilakleśoccayāś samṛtataṁ  
 rejuś te ḍumarauravamśaja-magā yeśāṁ yaśobdhīn<sup>651</sup> yayau // 13<sup>652</sup>  
 vālyentah kalikā iva prakaṭitā vidyā dhiyā dhāritāḥ  
 kaiśore mukulāpitā vikaśitās sarvārthadā yauvane /  
 kāvyodgrāhaphalāḥ<sup>653</sup> kalāmṛtarasā mokṣapradā vārddhake  
 yeśāṁ te subhagā guṇāśavabhvā bhūmīndravṛṇdair<sup>654</sup> natāḥ // 14<sup>655</sup>  
 mātaṅgāś śailatungaś galitamadajalamlānagaṇḍāḥ pracaṇḍā  
 dhārādhūlipratānair anumitagatayo divyaraṅgās turaṅgāḥ /  
 yeśāṁ āśīrvīśeśān narapatisadane sannadannīndrasatvāḥ  
 kuṇḍāvamśāvamtaśāś<sup>656</sup> smṛtinigamavidas siddhimanto magās te // 15<sup>657</sup>  
 yeśāṁ sattapasā vivṛddhamahasā śāmtās samās te tapo  
 deśāraṇyajaleśu<sup>658</sup> jantunivahā nityaṁ virodham jahuḥ /  
 rājantepi niragnayopi niyatāṁ vādhān na cakrur nṛṇāṁ  
 te rājanti malauḍīrakulajā vedāntapāraṅgamāḥ // 16<sup>659</sup>  
 śraddhābhūr vedavījo dhṛtisumatijalas sadvicārālavālāḥ<sup>660</sup>  
 śrīmān svācāramūlo yamaniyamamahāskanda<sup>661</sup> vedāṅgaśākhaḥ /  
 svacchāyo yajñaparnāḥ śamamukhakusumo mokṣarājatphalaśrīr  
 yeśāṁ dharmadrumosau lasati hṛdi magās te ca gaṇḍārakacandrāḥ // 17<sup>662</sup>  
 vālāḥ kāṁtipravālāḥ pavanavasalasatkākapakṣośvamālā  
 vedān uccaiḥ paṭhantāṁ<sup>663</sup> madhuramṛduravair bhūṣitānekaśālāḥ /  
 śāstrogrāhair yuvāno vijitavudhagaṇābhīṣṭam<sup>664</sup> īṣṭyā yajanto  
 vṛddhās sarve<sup>665</sup> prasiddhāḥ pariṣadi sapahāvamśajatā magās te // 18<sup>666</sup>  
 yeśāṁ vidyāvitānair vitaraṇapadubhis sindhavas sapta tīrṇāś

<sup>651</sup> RORI: yaśovdhīn

<sup>652</sup> W.: 12

<sup>653</sup> RORI: kāvyodgāhaphalāḥ

<sup>654</sup> RORI: bhūmīndravṛṇdair

<sup>655</sup> W.: 13

<sup>656</sup> RORI: kuṇḍāvamśāvataṁśāś

<sup>657</sup> W.: 14

<sup>658</sup> RORI: deśāraṇyajaleṣṭha

<sup>659</sup> W.: 15

<sup>660</sup> RORI: siddhicārālavālāḥ

<sup>661</sup> RORI: svācāramūlopamaniyamamahāskanda

<sup>662</sup> W.: 16

<sup>663</sup> RORI: paṭhanto

<sup>664</sup> RORI: vijinavudha-

<sup>665</sup> RORI: sarvam

<sup>666</sup> W.: 17

corddhāṁ cādhaḥ prakīrṇair jagad idam akhilam bhāsayadbhir yaśobhiḥ<sup>667</sup> /  
 tarkāṁśair arkatulyāḥ kṣaṇajitavilasadvādivādāndhakārair  
 dharmaiḥ karmāvdhicandrair munaya iva magā dehulāsyudbhavāḥ te // 19<sup>668</sup>  
 yeśāṁ vidyātmasamgād vividhaguṇamayī sarvalokān punīte  
 gaṅgevotuṅgabhaṅgipratihatavirasatyāpaniśśeṣapakṣāḥ<sup>669</sup> /  
 svacchābhas<sup>670</sup> sādhukakṣāksapitakalimalāḥ prītiniśśeṣadakṣā  
 vrahmāvdhīm pāyayantaḥ śritam arihasiāvamśajātā<sup>671</sup> magāḥ te // 20  
 ye prāptāś śāstrapāram vivudhanṛpagaṇāyān<sup>672</sup> yajanto dhanāḍhyāḥ  
 yair dhyāto viṣṇur uccair dadur avanibhujo bhūrivittāni yebhyah /  
 yebhyo vidyā suśiṣyā sphuṭamati jagṛhūḥ prāpya yeśāṁ yaśovdhīn  
 yeśv ānentyam<sup>673</sup> guṇānāṁ bhuvi dehulasiāvamśajātā magāḥ te // 21  
 iti magavyaktau dvādaśādityāḥ //

### III.

atha dvādaśa-maṇḍalāḥ //  
 dvādaśaite magāś śiṣṭās sūryyamaṇḍaladaivatāḥ /  
 paṭiśā camḍaroṭiś ca dīhī katthakapitthakau// 1  
 syāt terahaparāśiś ca khaṇḍasūpas tathā paraḥ /  
 pālivādhaḥ khajuraiā bhedīpākarir ity api // 2  
 vipuroha-vaḍisārau ca gīrvāṇā iva pūjītāḥ /  
 dādate te tu kāmārthān nirvāṇam api sevitāḥ // 3  
 yeśāṁ vidyānavadyā sarasamadalasaḍgaghapadyātihṛdyā<sup>674</sup>  
 vedāṁtodorekavedyā śrutibhir atitarāṁ niścīrthān vivicya /  
 śrīmatpādo'ghapādye vivudhanṛpasame śemukhīva<sup>675</sup> pragalbhā  
 sāchād<sup>676</sup> reje guṇaughaiḥ puravarapaṭiśāsambhavā san-magāḥ te // 4  
 ye svacchā sādhurakṣāśramabharavivaśā<sup>677</sup> vidamārgaikapānthā<sup>678</sup>

<sup>667</sup> W.: yaśomih

<sup>668</sup> W.: 18

<sup>669</sup> RORI: satpāpaniśśeṣapakṣāḥ

<sup>670</sup> RORI: svakṣāṁbhas

<sup>671</sup> RORI: arihasiāvamśajātā

<sup>672</sup> RORI: -gaṇāḥ yān

<sup>673</sup> RORI: ānentya

<sup>674</sup> RORI: sarasamadalasadgadyapadyātihṛdyā

<sup>675</sup> RORI: semukhīva

<sup>676</sup> WEBER 1880: sākṣād; W.: sāt jñād (?)

<sup>677</sup> RORI: sādhuraksābhramabharavivaśā

<sup>678</sup> RORI: veda-; W.: pānthā(h) – the *visarga* is added.

śrāntā ye sattapobhir virjitahariharavrahmalokādilokāḥ<sup>679</sup> /  
 ākalpāntasthirāḥāḥ trijagati yaśasā yerthināṁ kalpavṛksās  
 te vedānteṣu dakṣā ravaya iva magāś caṇḍaroṭiprajātāḥ // 5  
 ḏīhīsthānodbhavā ye vasava iva magāś sarvavidyāsu dakṣā  
 dātāro divyarūpā nigamavidhikṛto dharmakāmārthamokṣān /  
 vaṁdyāś sarvatra vaṁdyair nṛpavaravivudhair viṣṇubhaktipravīṇāś  
 te yogācāramukhyā<sup>680</sup> vigatabhavabhaya jñānavanto jayanti // 6  
 ye sevyamte kṣitīśair gurava iva suraiś śatruadaityopataptais  
 tanmamtrāśīsprayogaiḥ<sup>681</sup> praśamitaripubhiḥ prāpitaiśvaryyasatvaiḥ //  
 śāsvat svacchāś tapobhir guṇigaṇagaṇitā<sup>682</sup> sarvasatkāmṛtikāmṛtāḥ  
 kajjhagrāmābhijātā nigamanayavido vītarāgā magās te // 7  
 tīrthānyāvāhya sasnur vidhivad anudināṁ svargabhūmyaṁtariksān  
 maṁtrair<sup>683</sup> ārūpadevān<sup>684</sup> nigamam anugatāḥ pūjayantīti sākṣāt /  
 vedārthān divyavodhais<sup>685</sup> suramunipurataḥ śīghram udghāṭayanto  
 rejuḥ kṣīṇāś tapobhir munaya-iva magā ye kapitthodbhavās te // 8  
 ācārair dharmasārair munaya iva vabhurdevasanmānayogyā  
 mohārais sadvicārair vasava iva lasad dharmakāmārthadakṣāḥ<sup>686</sup> /  
 ākārair nirvīkārair narapataya iva svāṁtaviśrāmavṛksā  
 vaṁśā ye yatra jātāḥ prathitamagavarāś terahādiḥ parāśāḥ<sup>687</sup> // 9  
 sādhūktair vedasūktais sthirataramatayo<sup>688</sup> muktidāṁ viṣṇum ucchair  
 dhyāyanto nirvikalpā viśayaniyamitair indriyaiś cakṣurāghaiḥ<sup>689</sup> /  
 niśkāmāmṛtarviśiṣṭā vahir atithir iva prāptamātrārthatuṣṭāḥ  
 pūrṇajñānopasṛṣṭāḥ khanasupa-sumagā<sup>690</sup> muktibhājo vabhūvuḥ // 10  
 pālīvāṁdhe vasaṁto hariharacaraṇāś ciṁtayamto manobhir  
 vidyābhīr vodhayanto dvijanayakulajān śodhayantaḥ svadoṣān /  
 lokān śāsvad viśokān nikhilarasamayaṁ toṣavamto vacobhī

<sup>679</sup> RORI: vijita-

<sup>680</sup> RORI: -pravīṇāsteyo cāra-

<sup>681</sup> RORI: tanmatrā-

<sup>682</sup> RORI: guṇagaṇa-

<sup>683</sup> RORI: matrair

<sup>684</sup> RORI: āhūpadevān

<sup>685</sup> RORI: divyabodhais

<sup>686</sup> W.: dhardha-

<sup>687</sup> RORI: parāśāḥ

<sup>688</sup> RORI: vedasūktāsthirataramatayo

<sup>689</sup> WEBER 1880: cakṣurāchyaiḥ

<sup>690</sup> RORI: śumaga

rājante rājakalpāḥ kaliyugakaluṣam nāśayantas tapobhiḥ // 11  
 yeṣāṁ dānoddhatānām aniśam abhipataddhastasaṁkalpavāri  
 proddhūtās tuṅgakūlāḥ pratatavidhirayāḥ puṇyapūrā hradinyāḥ /  
 sattīrthādānaśeṣojjhitamaṇinicyān udvahanto 'nuvelam  
 vārddhai ratnākaratvam̄ sukulakhajurahāś cakrur uccair magās te // 12  
 te bheḍāpākarīśā<sup>691</sup> vivudhaguṇanutās sanmagā rejur uccaiḥ  
 kailāśottuṅgaśṛṅgottamamaṇikhacitastambhaharmyādivāsāḥ /  
 bhrājaccandrārddhabhālā<sup>692</sup> vṛṣaśubhagatayo viṣṇuviśrāṁtacittā  
 divyaṅgaṅgottamāṅgā nigamavidhikṛte jñās tṛṭīyākṣibhavyāḥ // 13  
 yeṣāṁ grāmābhīrāmā parisaraparikhārāmatopāśapādyaiś<sup>693</sup>  
 caityair dūrābhilakṣyaiś śakunikulakalārāvarājatkulāyaiḥ /  
 bhūmir yatraprayātair vividharasamayair bhūṣitās sarvaśasyais  
 te vedārtheṣu dakṣā vipurapuramagā rājasevyā jayanti // 14<sup>694</sup>  
 madhyonnatorddhasamamātraviśālaśuddha  
 viśvavsvuvivṛttadhanavarṇaviviktapamktih<sup>695</sup> /  
 samyaṇ makhī-kamalapatrajanir vireje  
 yeṣāṁ lipir hi vaḍasārabhavā makhās te // 15  
 yeṣāṁ vedārthavījā sarasahṛdayabhūś cātūrīcārumūlā  
 chando 'nantaprakāṇḍā vividhaguṇavatī śabdaśāstrārthapatrā<sup>696</sup> /  
 vidvadbhṛṅgopasevyā<sup>697</sup> navarasaracanā prasphuratpuṣpapūrṇā  
 jñānaughais satphalāsvā<sup>698</sup> prasarati paritāḥ kāpi vidyā lateva // 16  
 iti śrī magavyaktau dvādaśa-maṇḍalāḥ //

#### IV.

atha saptārkāḥ //  
 ullaḥ puṇḍro mārkanḍeyo vālo lolāḥ koṇāś cāṇāḥ /  
 śākadvīpi-kṣoṇīdevais saptāvanyām pūjyāś cārkāḥ // 1  
 ye pūjyāś sarvalokai ravaya iva magā yān smarantāḥ kṛtārthā

<sup>691</sup> RORI: bheḍāpākarīśā

<sup>692</sup> RORI: -ārdhabhālā

<sup>693</sup> RORI: -oyāśapādyaiś

<sup>694</sup> W.: 16

<sup>695</sup> WEBER 1880: -suddhi-; W.: -suvvi (?) vṛttaghana-

<sup>696</sup> RORI: śadva-

<sup>697</sup> RORI: vidvadbhṛṅgopasevyā

<sup>698</sup> RORI: satphalāḍhyā

yair dattam̄ bhūri vittam̄ vividhan̄pagañās sannamanti sma yebhyah /  
 lebhe yebhyah pravodham̄ vividiṣu-janatā dhāma yeṣām variṣṭham<sup>699</sup>  
 varṣeṣv ācārayuktā vratatapasi varaś śrīmadullārkamūlāḥ // 2  
 ullārkākhyam idam̄ kulañ ca muditam̄ śrīśīlavidyākaram  
 samjāto 'tra kule 'rjunorjuna iva prājño hi sāstrāstrayoh<sup>700</sup> /  
 govīm̄dena sahāyatām̄ ca sakhitām̄ samprāpya mohādviṣo  
 jitvā śāṁtim-ito raṇe kulavatām̄ yogan dadhe durlabham // 3  
 dīnam̄ rogabharair vihīnabhiṣajam̄ dṛṣṭvā dharāmaṇḍalam̄  
 sadyassam̄kṣayaśam̄kayā 'khilanṛṇām̄ samvāditānām̄ śamaiḥ /  
 svarvaidyopamitā natā nṛpacayaiḥ kim vrahmaṇā nirmitā  
 puṇḍrārkā jagadanti pāṭanapaṭuprajñā magā dhārmikāḥ // 4  
 mārkaṇḍeyārkamūlā nigamagh<sup>701</sup> anavanaprollasatprājñasiṁhās  
 tejobhir devakalpā<sup>702</sup> hariharacaraṇadhyānaniṣṭhā gariṣṭhāḥ /  
 sattarkair dikṣu yeṣām<sup>703</sup> daśasu vudhavarā nābhibhūtā na vādaiḥ  
 kīrtyā karpūrakāntyā surabhitabhuvaṇā bhām̄ti bhavyā magās te // 5  
 mālārkā<sup>704</sup> ye magās te nikhilaguṇamayās santi tīre sarayvā  
 jyotirvidyāsamudrapratarāṇapāṭavo vaidyavidyāvariṣṭāḥ /  
 nānādeśāptacimtā nijakulatilakāḥ kāmakām̄tāḥ kalābhiḥ  
 pūrṇāś candrā ivālam̄ vabhur amaranibhaiḥ pūjyamānā kṣitīśaiḥ // 6  
 konārkā ye ca khyātāḥ pracuraguṇacayā vedavidyānidhānās  
 tejobhiḥ prajjvalam̄to hutavahasadṛṣṭās<sup>705</sup> svais tapobhir variṣṭhaiḥ /  
 śiṣṭācārānuraktāḥ suhṛdayasadayaḥ vedavedāṅgasārāḥ  
 satkārās<sup>706</sup> sindhudhārā ravaya iva lasatkāntikāntā<sup>707</sup> magās te // 7  
 lolārkās san-magās te suvimalamanasaḥ santi yentassamudram  
 lolārkkam<sup>708</sup> pūjayanto munisuranikarair varddhavuddhyārpyamāṇāḥ<sup>709</sup> /  
 sanmārgās tatvaniṣṭhāḥ<sup>710</sup> svasuhṛdi satatām cintyamānāś ca svaṣṭam

<sup>699</sup> W.: variṣṭam

<sup>700</sup> RORI: sastrāstrayoh

<sup>701</sup> In W. it seems -vva-

<sup>702</sup> W.: devakalyā

<sup>703</sup> RORI: yeṣā

<sup>704</sup> RORI: vālārkā

<sup>705</sup> RORI: hutavahadṛṣṭās

<sup>706</sup> RORI: sākārās

<sup>707</sup> RORI: lasatkāntikā

<sup>708</sup> W.: lolārksam

<sup>709</sup> RORI: vaddhavuddhyārpyamānāḥ

<sup>710</sup> W.: tatvaniṣṭhāḥ

vikhyātās te dharanyām vahuvimalayaśaś candraśūḍārdhaniṣṭhāḥ<sup>711</sup> // 8  
 cāñārkā ye magāś te vividhapadayutā bhūrividyanidhānāś  
 tejobhiḥ prajvalantas<sup>712</sup> svatapasi vidiṭāḥ satyasandhyā<sup>713</sup> guṇāḍhyāḥ /  
 saddharmaiḥ sevyamānā nijakulakamalam bhāsayantah pramodaiḥ  
 sveṣṭadhyānaikaniṣṭhā nṛpasadasi sadā rejur uccair variṣṭhāḥ // 9  
 te vrahmajñānaniṣṭhāḥ kimu vatahadayaḥ<sup>714</sup> kim hadāvāḍavāvā<sup>715</sup>  
 khyātās te caikavarṇā muhur iha vidiṭās tarkayanto guṇais svaiḥ /  
 saddharmadhyānaniṣṭhā vividhaguṇavarā vedavādās sureśais  
 te pūjyāḥ kṣonipṛṣṭhe nikhilapadam alaṁ sevayāśam labhante // 10  
 iti magavyaktau saptārkavarṇanānāma caturthollāsaḥ //

W.: samvat 1920mitī karttika-śuklā 15 śaniṣāsare // om śāṁtiḥ //

RORI: samvat 1954 om śāntiḥ //

For the purpose of the present study, the analysis of the names of the Magas is very important. The onomastic analysis can offer some help in tracing their name's and their community's Iranian (or Central Asiatic) origins. Furthermore, the investigation into their names allows us to understand some historical and cultural features of this group as seen from the names' etymologies and their occurrence. To be sure, if the author of this text is indeed Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra, that alone testifies to the importance of the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas in the Moghul Empire.

Weber samvat 1920				RORI samvat 1954		
CORNER	LIST	TEXT	CORNER	LIST	TEXT	
24 ārāḥ				24 ārāḥ		
1	Uravāra	Uru	Urūvāra/ Urupuru	Uravāra	Uru	Urūvāra/ Urupuru
2	Kaṇṭavāra	Khaneṭu	Khaṇṭavāra/ Khanedvāra	Khaṇṭavāra	Khaneṭu	Khaṇṭavāra/ Khanedvāra
3	Cheriāra	Cheri	Cheriāra	Choriāra	Cheri	Cheriāra
4	Makhapavāra	Makhapā	Makhapavāra	Makhapavāra	Makhapā	Makhpavāra

<sup>711</sup> W.: candraśūḍārghaniṣṭhāḥ

<sup>712</sup> RORI: -dhānā prajvalantas

<sup>713</sup> RORI: satyasandhā

<sup>714</sup> RORI: vataharayah

<sup>715</sup> RORI: harāvāḍa-

5	Kuraiāra	Kurāyica	Kurāpica	Kuraiāra	Kurāyica	Kurāyica
6	Vedakuliāra	Devākulī	Devakuāra	<b>Devakuliāra</b>	Devākulī	Devakuāra
7	Bhaluniāra	Bhalunī	Bhalunā	Bhaluniāra	Bhalunī	Bhalunī
8	Dumariāra	Dumarī	Padarī	Dumariāra	Dumarī	Padarī
9	Padariāra	Padarī	Adayī	Padariāra	Padarī	Adayī
10	Adaīra	Adayī	Yabherī	Adaīra	Adapī	Yabherī
11	Pavaiāra	Pavairī	-	Pavaiāra	Pavairī	-
12	Om̄naniāra	On̄darī	On̄darī	On̄ariāra	On̄darī	On̄darī
13	Pūtiāra	Pūty	Pūliāra	Pūtiāra	Pūty	Pūtiāra
14	Esiāra	Esivaurī	Aiāra	<b>Aisiāra</b>	Esivaurī	Aiāra
15	Sivāriāra	Sarai	Sivairiāra	Vairiāra	-	Sivairiāra
16	Saraiāra	Chatra	Saraiāra	Saraiāra	Sarai	Saraiāra
17	Chatravāra	Bārā	Chatravāra	Chatravāra	Chatravāra	Chatravāra
18	Vāravāra	Avadhy	Yodhyāra	Vāravāra	Avadhy	Yodhyāra
19	Avadhiāra	Oni	Onī	Avadhiāra	Oni	Onī
20	Javuvāra	Jamvu	Jamvupura	Jamvuvāra	Jamvu	Jambupura
21	Sikauriāra	Sikaurī	Sikauriāra	Sikauriāra	Sikaurī	Sikauriāra
22	Bhalodiāra	-	Bhaḍaulī	Bhalauḍiāra	-	Bhaḍaulī
23	Mātamgāra	Madaraudī	-	Mātamgāha	Madaraudī	-
24	Rahadaliāra	Haradaulī	Haradauliāra	Rahadaliāra	Haradaulī	Haradauliāra

12 ādityāḥ			12 ādityāḥ		
1	Vārunārkka	Vārunārkka	Vārunārka	Vārunārka	Vārunārka
2	Vinaśaimā	Vināśava	Vināśava	Vinaśaiā	Vināśava
3	Muhurasiā	Muhurāsi	Muhurāsi	Muhurasiā	Muhurāsi
4	Devadīhā	Devadīha	Devadīha	Devadīhā	Devadīha
5	Dumaraura	Damaraura	Dumaraura	Dumaraira	Dumaraura
6	Guṇasaimā	Guṇāśava	Guṇāśava	Guṇasaimā	Guṇāśava
7	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā
8	Malaudā	Malaunḍā	Malaudiāra	Malauda	Malaunḍā
9	Gannaiā	Gaṇḍāva	Gaṇḍārka	Gannaiā	Gaṇḍāva
10	Sarpahā	Sarpahā	Sapahā	Sarpahā	Sapahā
11	Arihasiā	Arihāsi	Arihasi	Ārihasiā	Arihāsi
12	Devalasiā	Dahulāsi	Dehulāsi(ā)	Devalasiā	Dehulāsi

12 mandalāḥ			12 mandalāḥ		
1	Patīśāmri	Patīśa	Patīśā	Patīśāmri <sup>716</sup>	Patīśā
2	Caṇḍaroti	Caṇḍaroti	Caṇḍaroti	Caṇḍaroṭi	Caṇḍaroṭi
3	Dihīka	Dīhī	Dīhī	Dihīka	Dīhī
4	Kajjha	Kattha	Kajjha	Kajjha	Kajjha
5	Kapattha	Kapitthaka	Kapittho	Kapittha	Kapittha
6	Terahaparāśi	Terahaparāśi	Terahādīḥ Parāśāḥ	Terahaparāśi	Terahādīḥ Parāśāḥ
7	Khaṇḍasūpa	Khaṇḍasūpa	Khanasupa	Khaṇḍasūpa	Khanasupa
8	Pālivāḍha	Pālivāḍha	Pālivāṁḍha	Pālivāḍha	Pālivāṁḍha
9	Khajuraiā	Khajuraiā	-	Khajuraiā	Khajuraiā
10	Bhedāpākari	Bhedāpākari	Bhedāpākari	Bhedāpākari	Bhedāpākari
11	Vipurohā	Vipuroha	Vipura	Vipur <sup>717</sup> ohā	-
12	Vaḍasāra	Vaḍisāra	Vaḍasāra	Vaḍasāra	-

7 arkāḥ			7 arkāḥ		
1	Ullārka	Ulla	Ullārkā	Ullārka	Ulla
2	Punyārka	Puṇḍra	Puṇḍrārkā	Punyārka / Puṇḍarīkārka	Puṇḍra

<sup>716</sup> Not clear whether it is a *-ri-* or an *-ī-*.

<sup>717</sup> It resembles a *-ma-*.

3	Mārkan̄deyārka	Mārkan̄deya	Mārkan̄deyārka	Mārkan̄deyārka	Mārkan̄deya	Mārkan̄deyārka
4	Vālārka	Vāla	Mālārka	Vālārka	Vāla	Vālārka
5	Lolārka	Lola	Koñārkā	Lolārka	Lola	Koñārkā
6	Koñārkā	Koñā	Lolārkā	Koñārka	Koñā	Lolārkā
7	Cāñārkā	Cāñā	Cāñārkā	Cāñārka	Cāñā	Cāñārkā

The names are divided into four different categories, and each chapter of the poem is dedicated to one of them: 24 *āras*, 12 *ādityas*, 12 *mañdalas* and 7 *arkas*, respectively. These names could be subcategories of the systems of *gotras* and *puras*, also frequently mentioned in the text, and still used in the present day (cf. paragraph 5.1.10).

In both of the manuscripts I have consulted for this analysis, the names are listed in three different ways: at the beginning of each chapter, there is a list of all the names in the category that the chapter treats; the list is reported also in the corner of the page. Then, every name is discussed within the text of the chapter. An interesting fact is that the orthography of the names varies in each of these three versions. Therefore, we often have three variants of the same name, but the hand seems to be the same in all three cases, excluding the possibility of later additions that could have affected the orthography.<sup>718</sup>

Even if this text is in Sanskrit—and in good Sanskrit, as we noted before—it belongs to a Middle Indic linguistic environment, and some of the terms, especially the names, could betray the influence Prākrits. For this reason, in the onomastic analysis it is fundamental to take all the possible variants into consideration, with particular focus on the regional languages of the areas in which the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas had settled. For example, a Māgadhan peculiarity is the presence of *-d-* instead of *-t-*, and there is some evidence of *-k-* turning into *-g-*.<sup>719</sup> Also very common is the shift from *-b-* to *-v-* and vice versa, also due to orthographic reasons, and the interchangeability between *-v-* and *-p-*. Even the vowel system exhibits particularities of Middle Indo-Aryan languages: generally, we see the palatalization of the original vowels (*-a- > -i-*; *-ā- > -e-*) in the proximity of a palatal consonant<sup>720</sup>, or the tendency for *-ṛ-* to become *-u-* when in contact with a labial consonant (*-a-/occasionally -i- > -u-*; *-ā-/occasionally -ī- > -o-*) in proximity of a labial consonant.<sup>721</sup> Therefore, in the analysis of the names, it is fundamental to consider the presence of regionalisms or Prākritisms in the names of the Magas.<sup>722</sup>

<sup>718</sup> The *Magavyakti* itself states that some names have variants because people perceived them in different ways (cf. for example 1.14). There is a possibility, still valid in the present day, that the names had different spellings in different geographical areas.

<sup>719</sup> On this topic, see NORMAN 1991: 56.

<sup>720</sup> *Ivi*, p. 220.

<sup>721</sup> *Ivi*, p. 247.

<sup>722</sup> For a complete discussion of the peculiarities of Prākrit languages, see for example WOOLNER 1917; PISCHEL 1981.

My first aim in the analysis of the names was to find out if any of them could have Iranian (especially Old Iranian) roots or etymologies. This could be additional proof of the fact that, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (if we assume that the author of the text is Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra), the Magas still maintained a link with their alleged Iranian past. For this reason, I consulted many word lists and *Namenbücher* of Old and Middle Iranian languages<sup>723</sup>, but I could not find a solid connection with the ancient Iranian world. The only name that can be connected with an Old Iranian stem is that of the fifth *āra*, in the variant *Kurāyica* (MAYRHOFER 1973: \**kuraiča-* 11.1.7.3.8; ZADOK 2009: 340 Cyrus; TAVERNIER 2007: 234, \**kuraičā-*, with hypocoristic *-aičā-*). The mention of Cyrus is not a guarantee of Old Persian derivation. In fact, in both Iranian and Indian traditions, we find the name *Kuru-*<sup>724</sup>; the name is actually identical (with one variant in the nominative case, *Kuruš*, in Iranian, and another with *visarga*, *Kuruḥ*, in Indic). Within the two contexts, the name corresponds to different personalities. In the Iranian context, it is the name of three Persian sovereigns, Cyrus I, Cyrus II and Cyrus III (the Younger). The most important and well-known is Cyrus II, Cyrus the Great (ca. 600–530 B.C), who founded the Achaemenid Empire. He himself stated (*Cyl.*, I. 20) that Cyrus I (probably 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) was his grandfather, and this piece of information is confirmed by Herodotus (1.111). Cyrus the Great, beyond having been an illustrious conqueror, has been depicted as a tolerant sovereign and a wise statesman (Pl. *Lg.*, 3.694), incarnating the ideal ruler (Xen. *Cyr.*). Moreover, Cyrus was held in great esteem in the Hebrew tradition (cf. *Isaiah*)<sup>725</sup> because he promoted the reconstruction of Jerusalem's Holy Temple.

In the Indian tradition, Kuru is a mythical king, mentioned in the epic *Mahābhārata*, the progenitor of the Kauravas (Dhṛtarāṣṭra's hundred sons) and the Pāṇḍavas (the five sons of Pandu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra's younger brother). Moreover, the epic battle is fought on the plain called Kurukṣetra, the 'field of the Kurus'. According to the story, Dhṛtarāṣṭra was blind, and interestingly the Persian term for 'blind' is *kor* (کور), MP *kūr*, probably related to the Indo-Aryan root \**kaur*.<sup>726</sup> EILERS (1974: 56 f.) also speculates as to the fact that this mythical battle between the two branches of Kuru's descendants reflects the ancient separation of the Indian and Iranian populations; thus, Kuru would be the progenitor of both the Indian and Iranian people. In any case, this name does not prove any connection with the ancient Iranian world.

<sup>723</sup> On Iranian names, in alphabetical order: BOYCE 1977; GIGNOUX 1972; LURJE 2010; MAYRHOFER 1973, 1977 and 2006; SCHMITT 2011; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2010; TAVERNIER 2007; ZADOK 2009.

<sup>724</sup> Gr. *Kūros*, later also *Kóros* < OPers. *Kuruš* [spelled *k<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š*], reflected in Elam. *Ku-raš*, Bab. *Ku(r)-raš/-ra-áš*, Aram. *kwrš*, Heb. *Kōreš* and Eg. *kwrš* (SCHMITT 1993).

<sup>725</sup> *Isaiah* 45, 1–2: 'Thus says the Lord to Kōreš his anointed, Kōreš whom he has taken by his right hand to subdue nations before him ... I will go before you' (cf. DANDAMAYEV 1993).

<sup>726</sup> For the etymology, see EILERS 1974: 57.

Despite the lack of linguistic evidence to relate them to ancient Iranian languages, we will see that some (modern) Iranian elements are recognisable in these names.

As A.F. Weber had postulated previously, the family names presumably belong to the modern Indian sphere, and for this reason, I consulted onomastic materials about Middle Indic languages, especially those on the Prākrits spoken in the North.<sup>727</sup>

Starting with the names of the subcategories, *āra-*, *āditya-*, *maṇḍala-* and *arka-*, WEBER (1879: 449, 469) supposed that *āra-* could be an abbreviation of *ārāma*<sup>728</sup>, or that it could be derived from Persian *yār*<sup>729</sup>, ‘friend’; *āra-* is also the (men’s) world, or worldly existence (cf. RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; CHANDRA 1972; MYLIUS 2003: 135). *Āditya-* and *Ārka-* are clearly two names for the sun god, and *maṇḍala-* is certainly the disc of the sun, but it can also have the meaning ‘district’ (cf. WEBER 1879: 449). Among these subcategories, *āra-* and *arka-* are also reflected in the proper names of the Magas. These 55 family names<sup>730</sup>, which are often tripled due to their orthographic variants, form a varied landscape of possible hypotheses. WEBER (1879: *passim*) postulated that these names are actually modern Indian toponyms, and that their context is geographical in nature. As a matter of fact, many of these terms can be related to geography: *āra-*, which we have just mentioned, could mean also ‘district’, and it is the termination of the 24 names belonging to this subcategory, indicating that they could each be different districts. Other names feature the ending *-pura* (*urupura*, *onipura*, *jamvupura*, *devāhvākhyapura*, *bhaḍaulīpura*, *vipurapura*), which is particularly meaningful in this context: the system of *puras* is very important for Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas nowadays, more than the *gotras* system, especially in marriage policy (cf. the next paragraph). *Pura-* has the primary meaning of ‘city, town’ (MW 364, II), so it is plausible that these names were indeed associated with locations. WEBER (1879: 471) states, ‘[...] es sich hier denn eben nicht sowohl um alte irānische Maga-Geschlechts-Namen handelt, sondern um moderne indische Orts-Namen, nach denen entweder erst der Vf. seinerseits die ihm bekannten Maga-Geschlechter benannt hat, oder besser, nach denen sie schon vor ihm factisch benannt waren; *tannāmapurayogena*, oder °*togataḥ*, heisst es ja mehrfach im Texte selbst [...].’ It is surprising how this scholar, without the sophisticated instruments we have nowadays at our disposal, could present such an accurate

<sup>727</sup> The materials used are, in alphabetical order: CHANDRA 1972; EDGERTON 1953; HILKA 1910; HINÜBER 1986; JACOBI 1886; MALALASEKARA 1983; MYLIUS 1997, 2003; PISCHEL 1900; RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER 1978; SETHA 1923–1928; SUTHAR 2003; TURNER 1962–1966; VELZE 1938.

<sup>728</sup> *ārāma*, MW 150, I: ‘delight, pleasure’, but also ‘a place of delight’, like a ‘garden’, denoting also a locative meaning, which, we will see, is particularly meaningful to Weber.

<sup>729</sup> This Persian term is still very much used in contemporary Indian languages, like Hindī.

<sup>730</sup> The names are listed in alphabetical order, and associated with conclusions drawn from the dictionaries and *Namenbücher* in APPENDIX B.

and precise analysis. Taking into account the contemporary system of *puras* (which, in turn, is related to the first settlement of the legendary migration of the Śākadvīpa to India; cf. chapter 5) and the fact that some names are clearly associated with cities (cf. for example *Ayodhyāra*), it is certain that, at least in some cases, a connection with geographical areas is present. Weber proposes a list of associations of these names with modern Indian cities.<sup>731</sup> The aforementioned *Ayodhāra*, without a doubt, refers to the city of Ayodhyā (or Oudh<sup>732</sup>); even today, Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas are numerous in this region, and the current king of Ayodhyā, Bimlendra Mohan Prasad Mishra, is himself a member of the community. *Avadhī* is another name for Ayodhyā (WEBER 1879: 471). According to the scholar, *Khajuraha* is ‘eine ansehnliche Stadt in Bundelkhund’<sup>733</sup> (*Ivi*, 472). *Mahurāśi* can be associated with a city as well, viz. Mahurā (Mathurā),<sup>734</sup> today in Uttar Pradesh, on the right shore of the Yamunā river. *Kurā-* (*Kurāpica/Kurāyica*, *Devakuāra*), like ‘-kuru-’, can mean ‘region’.<sup>735</sup> Finally, *Koṇārka*, beyond indicating the previously discussed sun-Saturn connection, is a very famous place for sun cult (cf. chapter 2); this name is also present in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER list (1978: 71).

Some of the names have been connected with Iranian. For example, *Cheriāra* could be derived from Pers. *sher-y-yār*, ‘Freund der Stadt (emperor)’ (WEBER 1978: 469), or from NP *śāhryār*<sup>736</sup> (SCHEFTELOWITZ 1933: 323). The royal title could also be connected to *Paṭiśā*, from Pers. *pādshāh*, ‘emperor, king’ (WEBER 1978: 470). *Takkurāya*, from Pers. *tahākar*, ‘lord, master, chief (among Rājputs)’, corresponds to Skr. *thakkura*<sup>737</sup> (*ibid.*). Weber notes that this term might also refer to Ptolemy’s *Ταχοραιοι* (VII, 2, 15). SCHEFTELOWITZ (1933: 323) points out that even the name *Aiāra* can be related to the MP *ayār* and to the above-mentioned NP *yār*. Weber also states that *Makhapā* could come from Pers. *mughbaca*, the son of a worshipper of fire, and *Sikaurī* from Pers. *sakori/sikori*, a saucer (1879: 470). One name certainly related to Zoroastrian culture is *Terahādīh parāśāh/Terahaparāśi*, i.e. ‘thirteen Pārsīs’. Numbers are well represented in the *Magavyakti*’s list: *Terahādi-* or *Teraha-* is clearly the expression for the

<sup>731</sup> WEBER 1879: 472 ff. lists Adayī ~ Addoe; Ayodhyā ~ Oudh; Aiāra/Esiāra ~ Esee/Eseepoora; Kunḍā ~ Kunda; Kurāpica ~ Kurai; Gaṇḍārka ~ Gonda; Gunāśava/-śaimā ~ Goonass Pass; Caṇḍaroti ~ Chandaros; Cheri ~ Chāri; Jamvupura ~ Jambo; Dīhī ~ Deeha; Devakuāra ~ Deoleea; Pālīvāṇḍha ~ Pāli; Bhaḍaulīpura ~ Bālod/Bhalod/Bhalot; Bhalunā ~ Beloonah; Malaudiāra ~ Murrowli/Marowra/Morai; Mārkaṇḍeyārka ~ Markandi (group of temples and a monastery); Vāravāra/Bāra ~ Barah; and Sikauriāra ~ Sikori.

<sup>732</sup> A copy of the *Magavyakti* was preserved in Oudh.

<sup>733</sup> Bundelkhand is a central mountainous region divided between the states of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>734</sup> JACOBI 1886: 136; MYLIUS 2003: 503.

<sup>735</sup> ‘Kurā’ in RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; CHANDRA 1972: 304 (‘devakurā’); cf. MW 294, I ‘kuru’.

<sup>736</sup> JUSTI 1985: 174: ‘\*Xṣaþradāra (altpers.), \*χschaþrōdāra (awest.), χsatrdarān (plur., pehl., Inschr. von Hājīābād), šatndār (oder yār, späteres Pehlewi), Šahryār, Šahriyār (neopers.).’ These are names of mythological and historical figures.

<sup>737</sup> MW 340, I: m., ‘[...] man of rank, chief’.

number thirteen; even *Dumarī/Dumaraura* could be related to Pers. *du/Hin. do*, the number two. *Bāra* can have the meaning of twelve (cf. paragraph 2.6).

The case of *Sarai/Saraiāra* is very interesting: in SCHEFTELOWITZ's opinion (1933: 323), *Saraiāra* may be related to OldIr. \**saraðāra*, 'leader' ('Anführer'), NP *sardār*, *salār*. WEBER (1879: 470) thinks the name could be the equivalent of Pers. *sarāi*<sup>738</sup> 'house, palace, seraglio' ('Haus, Palast'). This term is well attested also in Arabic (especially *saraya*, with a military meaning) and in Turkish. Moreover, both variants, *Sarāy* or *Sarai*, are the names of different cities in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. Once again, Weber's idea of toponyms or some kind of relation to geographical places seems to find confirmation here. In another late poem, the *Sāmvavijaya*, the *Sarayūpārināh* are a different group of Brāhmaṇas coming from Śākadvīpa, educated by the Magas and often confused with them (cf. paragraph 3.2.1). Finally, it is similar to the term *sāra-* (although the vowel length is different), one of the names of the *avyaṅga*, the most important ritual object of the Śākadvīpiyas: *eṣa sāraś ca sāramyo vai jñeyo jayanāmabhīḥ*, 'It [the *avyaṅga*] is known by the victorious names of *sāra* and *sāramya*',<sup>739</sup> (*Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I. 142, 15a).

In the *Magavyakti* itself, we find a series of pseudo-etymologies that try to explain the family names:

#### 1.14

*khanan yāti girīm cāsmāt khanedvāra iti smṛtah /*  
*tannāma purayogena khaṇṭakārobhidhīyate // 14*

[The one] who digs (*khan-*) the mountain is known as 'Khanedvāra'; that name, for the combination of *puras*, is perceived as both, [Khanedvāra and] Khaṇṭavāra.

In this case, the texts highlights the reason for the double (or triple!) spelling: they are known in both variants, probably according to geographical area or matrimonial policies.

#### 1.11

*urutvād uruvārāś te tannāmapurayogataḥ /*  
*uruvāra iti khyāto magamandalamandanah //*

Because of the wideness, they, surrounding/circumscribing a wide space, [have] this name,

<sup>738</sup> STEINGASS 1892: 669, سرای *sarāy*, 'a house, palace, grand edifice, king's court, seraglio'.

<sup>739</sup> It is interesting that the name *sāramya-* could also be connected with an Iranian term, *zaranya-* 'golden' (cf. STIETENCRON 1966: 266).

in accordance with the [system of] *puras*; ‘Uruvāra’ is thus called [because it] adorns the circle of Magas.

In this case, an etymological explanation of the name is provided; we will return to the meaning of *Uru/Uruvāra/Uravāra* below. A description of this family’s abilities (*Uruvāra*) follows the etymology:

1.12

*nyāyoktais tairabhuktā vivadanavidhibhis sādhuvaiśeśikoktair  
gauḍīyāś cotkalā ye vivudha-kavi-gaṇāś te ‘pi mīmāṃsayoktaih /  
sāṃkhyoktair dākṣiṇātyāś śivasadasi pure divyavedāntasūktaih  
santoṣam ye praṇītā urupuru ja-magāś tārkikāś te jayanti //*

The Maga born as ‘Urupuru’, desiring satisfaction, prevail as dialectitians; those [coming from] Tirhut, [prevail] with sentences from the Nyāya, according to the rules of the contest; [those from] Bengala, with the excellent sentences of the Vaiśeśika; the multitude of very learned poets from Orissa, also with sentences from the Mīmāṃsa; the southerners, with sentences of the Sāṃkhya; and in the city that is the residence of Śiva, with the good sentences of the divine Vedānta.

This kind of characterization is proposed again in 1.26:

*ye vedārthapravīṇāḥ praṇamati janatā yān viśiṣṭān guṇaughair  
yair dṛṣṭāntas trilokī harir iva praṇidhau yebhya indroditārthān /  
yebhyoṁśān prāpya yajñe vabhur amaragaṇāś śarmma yeśām  
ivaiśām saujanyām yeṣy apūrva pravilasad adayī satkulāś san-magāś te // 26//*

The community defer to them, learned in the meaning of the Vedas, the excellent ones, with a great quantity of qualities, serving as an example like Hari in the three worlds, [having as] aim the rise of Indra in their request. The respectable Magas of the good Adayī family, shining forth<sup>740</sup>, exerted incomparable benevolence; having managed to obtain a share for themselves in the sacrifice, they go to the assemblage of immortals, their shelter.

The name *Uru/Uruvāra* has the meaning ‘wide space’ in Sankrit (MW 217, III; cf. also TURNER 1962–1966: 2353; MYLIUS 1997: 107; MYLIUS 2003: 169), but in its variant *Uravāra*

<sup>740</sup> The verb *pravilas-* also means ‘to appear in full strength or vigour’ (MW: 692, II), but I find that a solar image is more appropriate in this context.

it recalls *ura(ga)-* ‘serpent, snake’ (MW 217, II)<sup>741</sup>, which would confirm the important place this animal has in Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas’ cult. According to RATNACHANDRAJI (1923–1932) and MYLIUS (2003: 550), *Vāla* can also have the meaning ‘serpent’. In the series of 12 *ādityas* we have *Sarpaha*, clearly connected to snakes, and the very interesting *Sarpahā*: in this variant, it could stand for the nominative form of *Sarpa-han-* (MW 1184, II), the ‘snake-killer’, recalling the Zoroastrian practice of killing the *xrafstra-* (Av., MP *xrafstar*) animals previously discussed (cf. paragraph 2.7).

Two other topics particularly dear to the Śākadvīpīyas, even nowadays (cf. chapter 5), are those of plants and of water. Natural medicine and the knowledge of the plants are one of the main interests of this group of Brāhmaṇas; some names in the *Magavyakti* can be connected to vegetation: *Kapittha* is the tree *Feronia elephantum* (cf. EDGERTON 1953: 185; MYLIUS 1997: 129; MYLIUS 2003: 201; TURNER 1962–1966: 2749); in *Kuraiāra*, *kurāi-* can correspond to *kutaja-*, ‘the tree *Wrightia antidysenterica*’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 3229); *Khajuraiā* may correspond to the date-palm *Phoenix sylvestris* (TURNER 1962–1966: 3828) or a date fruit (SUTHAR 2003: 41); the *gaṇḍa-* in *Gaṇḍārka* can be also the stalk of a plant (EDGERTON 1953: 208); in *Dumaraura*, *dumara-* is the tree *Ficus glomerata* (TURNER 1962–1966: 1942; cf. also SUTHAR 2003: 77); *Pūti* might be linked to *pūta-*, the name of a plant (EDGERTON 1953: 350); *Vaḍasāra* contains *vaḍa-*, the *Ficus indica* (JACOBI 1886: 141) or the *Ficus religiosa* (MYLIUS 2003: 540), the banyan tree (SUTHAR 2003: 184) or its flower (EDGERTON 1953: 468); finally, the previously discussed *Saraiāra* contains *sara-*, which could stand for the *Saccharum sara* (MYLIUS 2003: 618).

Lake, ponds, oceans and bodies of water in general are very important in the Śākadvīpīya tradition: we have *Pālīvamdhā*, meaning ‘a lake, a pond’ (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932 vol. V 1932: 796); *Vāruṇārka*, which can denote the Vāruṇa sea (cf. RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932); even *Sarai* can be related to water and signify ‘lake, pond’ (*sáras-*; cf. TURNER 1962–1966: 13254) or ‘See, Teich’ (MYLIUS 2003: 618).

By analysing the family names contained in the *Magavyakti*, it is evident that some of them have bizarre meanings, considerably pejorative or linked to infernal regions: *āra-* itself can describe the abodes of the fourth hell (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; CHANDRA 1972; MYLIUS 2003: 135); *Adayī*, the name discussed in the pseudo-etymologies, is linked to *adaya-*, meaning

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<sup>741</sup> *Uras* means ‘breast, chest’ (MW 217, II; cf. also MYLIUS 1997: 107; MYLIUS 2003: 168), but in this context, *uraga-* is certainly more fitting.

‘cruel, merciless’ (cf. RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; MW: 18, I); *Kuṇḍā*<sup>742</sup> may indicate a son born in adultery, a cripple or mutilated person (TURNER 1962–1966: 3265; MYLIUS 1997: 142; EDGERTON 1953: 185); the *caṇḍa-* in *Caṇḍaroṭi* can mean ‘passionate’, but also ‘fierce, cruel, wild’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 4584; JACOBI 1886: 108; MYLIUS 1997: 159); *Damaraura* contains *damara-*, ‘rebellion, riot’ or also a trouble caused by family quarrels (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; MYLIUS 2003: 197); *Bhaḍaulīpura* has *bhaḍa-*, which can indicate ‘a barbarian race’, ‘a tribe of mixed cast’ or ‘a demon’ (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932 vol. V: 468); *Lola* (*/Lolārka*)<sup>743</sup> is an abode of the first hell, or has the meaning of ‘gierig, lüstern’ or ‘unruhig’ (CHANDRA 1972: 658; JACOBI 1886: 140; MYLIUS 1997: 301); *vāra-* in *Vāravāra/Varavāra* is the fourth abode of hell (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932); finally, *Vinaśaimā/Vināśava* is linked to *vināśa-*, ‘destruction, death’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 11770, 11777; MYLIUS 1997: 316). These pejorative names must carry an apotropaic value; otherwise, it is not possible to explain the need for such negative names.

Some of the names are clearly related to a pure Sanskrit context, especially those which recall (or are identical to) proper names: *Vārunārka*, beside being the name of a sea, may be a derivative of the name Varuṇa, the Vedic god generally paired with Mitra, or may stand for the Vāruṇas, a class of deities, followers of Varuṇa (CHANDRA 1972: 691; MALALASEKARA 1983: 854; MYLIUS 2003: 550; RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932); *Sivāriāra/Sivaurī* can be a variant of the name of Śiva, which means ‘auspicious’ in turn (TURNER 1962–1966: 12472; MYLIUS 1997: 364 states that *sivā*, Skr. *śiva-*, also means also ‘Schakal’); *Mārkaṇḍeya/Mārkaṇḍeyārka*, also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER’s list (1978: 343), is clearly connected with the figure of the *rṣi* Mārkaṇḍeya, who, according to Hindū tradition, wrote the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and was quoted in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*; lastly, *Jamvu(-āra/-pura)/Jambupura* once again recalls a place, the mythical *dvīpa-* called Jambudvīpa, often identified with India.

Some final remarks can be made about the other names: the whole *-ārka* category features names probably derived from Sanskrit (cf. WEBER 1879: 470), whereas the *dehula-* of *Dehulāsi(ā)*, can be associated with Prākr. *deula-*, ‘gehört’ (*Ivi*: 471), while *Rahadaliāra/Haradaulī/Haradauliāra* can be linked to Prākr. *hrada-* (*ibid.*). In addition, WEBER (*ibid.*) connects the endings in *-raura*, *-raudi*, *-roṭi*, *-laudi*, *-dauli* with Strabo’s *Sakarauli* (XI. 8, 2).

<sup>742</sup> It is found also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER 1978: 581. Interestingly, in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER we also find *kundārka-* (1978: 71), whereas in our text the Kundā family is part of the 12 *ādityas*.

<sup>743</sup> It is found also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER 1978: 71.

### 3.1.1 Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas' Puras

The system of *puras* is very important for the communities of Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas nowadays. According to their tradition, they originally settled in Magadha, where they received 72 principalities or cities (*puras*). DAVE (2011) confirms that they were identified by their *puras* rather than by their lineage (*gotra*). Later they migrated in all directions, but they have maintained the affiliation with the original *puras*, which are still considered more important than *gotras* in the Śākdvīpiya tradition. They are also very important for marriages, because these Brāhmaṇas practice a strict exogamy; a man and a woman belonging to the same *pura* cannot marry (cf. chapter 5).

In RĀY (1996: 130-138) we find a list of 72 *puras* related to 16 *gotras* and sacred texts (*Vedas* and *Upavedas*) of the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas. We may note that quite a number of them matches with the names in the *Magavyakti* (the underlined ones). This offers evidence that WEBER (1879: *passim*) was probably right in relating the names of the Maga families with toponyms; at least, this is what is reported in Rāy's work. Judging from Rāy's bibliography, at the time she worked on this topic, she was not aware of Weber's publication and analysis of the names in the *Magavyakti*, but she was certainly aware of the subdivisions of *puras* in modern communities.

1. Āspad(a), <u>Uru/Urvāra</u>	13. Odo/Oḍariyāra tathā Pītiyāra	<u>Rahadauliyāra</u>
2. <u>Khanetā/</u> Khanēavāra	14. grāma <u>Pavaī/</u> Śakunī (Maula)/	25. Ūmlā/ <u>Ullārka</u>
3. <u>Choriyāra/</u> Choriyārī	15. Yotiyāra	26. Pāṭhana/Puṇḍarīka
4. Makhayā/ <u>Makhapavāra</u>	16. Āyera/ <u>Saraiyāra</u>	27. Devakulī/ <u>Mārkandeyārka</u>
5. Varā/ <u>Kuraivāra</u>	17. Verī/ <u>Sivauriyāra</u>	28. Sarayūtīra/ <u>Vālārka</u>
6. <u>Devakulī/</u> Devakuliyāra	18. Chatiyānā/ <u>Chatravāra</u>	29. Kāśī/ <u>Lolārka</u>
7. <u>Bhalunī/</u> Bhaluniyāra	19. Varā/ <u>Vāravāra</u>	30. <u>Konā/Konārka</u>
8. <u>Duvarī/</u> Dumariyāra	20. Baṇḍhavā/ Baddhavāra	31. <u>Punyārka</u>
9. <u>Parārī/Padariyāra</u>	(Yodhayāra)	32. Pañcāna/ <u>Varunārka</u>
10. <u>Adaī/Adaiyāra</u>	21. Jamuarā/ <u>Jamuarā</u>	33. Belāmī/Bilusaiyā
11. Śyāmaro/ Śyāmariyāra	22. Sikarora/ Sikarauriāra	34. Malavāmī/ Maloriyāra
12. Padaī/Padaiyāra	23. pur(a), <u>Malaudī/</u> <u>Malaudiyāra</u>	35. <u>Sapahā/</u> <u>Sarpahārka</u>
	24. Rahadaulī/	36. Moharāsudeva/ Mahurasiyā
		37. <u>Dīhā/Devadīhārka</u>
		38. <u>Dumarā/</u>

<u>Dumaraura</u>	<u>Śuṇḍarka</u>	<u>Bhaiḍāpākara</u>
39. <u>Gamgarī</u> (Śiva), Śivāṇa/ <u>Gunasaiyyā</u>	55. Deva/Devayāra	72. Viharā/Viharīha
40. Kuṛavā/Kuṇḍārka	56. Mahośa/ Mahośavāra	73. Mṛgā/Mṛgahā
41. <u>Gamgarī/Gannaiyā</u>	57. Aravāla/ Audhiyāra	74. Paṭhakaulī/ Paṭhakauliyāra
42. Pāṇḍeya/pur(a), <u>Aiārī-Arihamsiyā</u>	58. Gamgaṭī/ Gaḍaṇarka	75. Mihirasī
43. Deharī/ <u>Devalasiyā</u> (Dehulāsa)	59. Korī	76. (Seta) Rāmapura/ <u>Svetabhadra</u>
44. Jutṭhī/Jutṭhīvarī	60. Punarakha/ <u>Punarakhiyā</u>	77. Huṇarāhī/ Huṇariyāra
45. Kukaraudhā/ Kukaraidhā	61. Cāṇḍapura/ Caṇḍaroha (Candroti)	78. Siyārī/Siyariyāra
46. Devacandā/ Devavaruṇārka	62. Dīhā/Dīhika	79. Gorakhapura/ Gorakapuriyā
47. Devā/Devahā	63. Pisanārī/ <u>Pattisa</u>	80. Śrīmaura/ Śrīmauriyāra
48. Goha/Gorahā	64. <u>Khanetā/</u> <u>Kharasūpa</u>	81. Pārasa/Pārasama
49. Soragampur(a)a/ Sauriyāra	65. Kaithuvā/ <u>Kapitthaka</u>	82. Malavāṁ, Mallora
50. <u>Thakurī/</u> Thakuramerāva	66. Badhavā/ Balibāṇḍha	83. Mujamriyā/ Mujāditya
51. Paṁcamī/ Pačakanṭhī (Pačakāṭha)	67. Khajanī/Kājhū (Khāmjha)	84. Harihāsa/ Harihasiyā
52. Paṁcānapur(a)a/ Paṁcahāya	68. <u>Khajurī/Khajurahā</u>	85. Piparā/Piparahā
53. Vinayārka (Kāśī) evam Vināyaka (Ganeśapur(a)a)/ Guṇayārka	69. Jūrā/Juttha (Jutṭh(a)na)	86. Belagāṁva/ Belapāra
54. Kakarahī/	70. Varasāṁ/ <u>Varasāra</u> (Vatasāra)	87. Devakalī/ Dharmāditya
	71. Bhamḍariyā/	88. Samarī/ Śyāmabaura
		89. Cainavāra
		90. Setapura (Samarī)/ Saptārka

Some of these names are particularly relevant from a historical perspective: *Mṛgā-Mṛgahā* (73) shows the other spelling of the name *Maga*, also found in *Kūrma-purāṇa* 49, 37 *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* II, 4, 69 and in *Mahābhārata* VI, 12, 33–34. For *Huṇarāhī* (77), I would not exclude the possibility that the *u* was shortened from *ū*, which would thus suggest a link with Hūṇa people. *Saptārka* (90) represents one of the categories of the *Magavyakti*, the seven *arkas* previously discussed.

The double-underlined names correspond to the list of *puras* found on the website of a contemporary community in Bīkāner, available at <http://www.shakdwipiya.com/gotra.php>. The majority of them correlate to the names in the *Magavyakti* (M.) and in Rāy's work (R.).

*Pūrva mē gotra*<sup>744</sup> *pura*

1. Kuraiāra = M.; R.
2. Bhāluniāra ≈ M.; R.
3. Koriāra
4. Chatravānī ≈ M.; R.
5. Yāmuvāra
6. Malauriāra ≈ M.; more similar to R.
7. Vālārka ≈ M.; R.
8. Hyarasiyā
9. Devalasiyā ≈ M.; R.
10. Mallauda ≈ M.; R.
11. Hudṛhīyāra
12. Śvetabhadra ≈ R.
13. Punarakhiyā = R.
14. Mihara (Mihira? R.)
15. Bhedāpākara ≈ M.; R.
16. Parāsāsīn ≈ M.; R.

Additionally, in PĀNDE (\*: 21), there is list of 16 *gotra-puras*, which is almost identical to the website's list, with the exception of some dissimilarities in numbers 10, 11, 15 and 16.

*Pūrva mē gotra (pura)*

1. Kuraiāra
2. Bhāluniāra (Mūrtihā)
3. Koriāra
4. Chatravānī
5. Yāmuvāra
6. Malauriāra
7. Vālārka
8. Hyarasiyā
9. Devalasiyā
- 10. Mallaura**
- 11. Huṛhīyāra**
12. Śvetabhadra
13. Punarkhyā (Sarevā)
14. Mihara
- 15. Bherāpākara**
- 16. Pārāśīna**

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<sup>744</sup> I do not think that nowadays communities really distinguish between *gotras* and *puras*. I met some people belonging to the Śākadvīpiya communities who were not (completely) aware of the difference between them. They do need to rely on them just for marriage policies.

In the magazine *Magabandhu* (Janvarī–Jūn 2014: 20–21; cf. chapter 5), the system of *gotras* and *puras* is presented in 56 different combinations. The *puras* appear to be 21 in total, repeated in relation to different *gotras* and families.

<u>Uravāra</u> = M.	<u>Maheśvāra</u>
<u>Punyārka</u> = M., R.	<u>Devahā</u>
<u>Dumaraura</u> = M., R.	<u>Saraiāra</u> ≈ M.
<u>Adaīāra</u> = M.	<u>Śrīmauriyāra</u> = R.
<u>Pavaīāra</u> ≈ M.	<u>Bhaluniyāra</u> ≈ M., = R.
<u>Gulasaīyā</u>	<u>Vinyārka</u> = R.
<u>Makhapavāra</u> = M., R.	<u>Bilasaīya</u>
<u>Khamtavāra</u> ≈ M.	<u>Devakuliyāra</u> ≈ M., = R.
<u>Jamuāra</u> ≈ M., R.	<u>Potiyāra</u>
<u>Pamcahāya</u> ≈ R.	<u>Moharasiyā</u> ≈ M.
<u>Choriyāra</u> ≈ M., = R.	

All the names of the *puras* found in modern literature have striking parallels in the *Magavyakti* (listed in alphabetical order):

Adayī ≈	Cheriāra ≈	Bhaluniāra ≈
Adaiāra ≈ / =	Javuāra ≈	Bhalunī
Arihasiā ≈	Takura ≈	Bhedāpākari ≈
Uravāra	Takkurāya ≈	Makhapavāra
Uru	Dīhī ≈	Malaudā ≈
Urvāra	Dumaraura	Malaudiāra ≈
Ullārka	Dumarī ≈	Muhurāsiā ≈
Aiāra ≈	Dumariāra ≈	Rahadaliāra ≈
Khaṇṭavāra ≈	Devakuāra ≈	Lolārka
Kapiththa ≈	Devakulī	Vadasāra ≈ <sup>745</sup>
Kapiththaka	Devaḍīha ≈	Vaḍāsāra ≈
Kuraiāra ≈	Devaḍīhā ≈	Vāravāra
Koṇā ≈	Devalasiā ≈	Vāruṇārka ≈
Koṇārka	Dehulāsi ≈	Vāla ≈
Khajuraha ≈	Dehulasia ≈	Saraiāra ≈
Khajuraiā ≈	Dehulāsia ≈	Sarpaha ≈
Khanasupa ≈	Paṭiśā ≈	Sarpahā ≈
Khaneṭu ≈	Paḍarī ≈	Sikauriāra ≈
Gannaiā ≈	Paḍariāra ≈	Sicauriāra ≈
Guṇasaimā ≈	Parāśāḥ ≈	Sivāriāra ≈
Caṇḍaroṭi ≈	Pavairi ≈	Sivaurī ≈
Caṇḍaroṭi ≈	Pavaiāra ≈	
Chatravāra	Puṇyārka	

<sup>745</sup> It is quite possible that *ta-* and *ra-* have been interchanged.

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss the names that are in common to both Rāy’s list and in the website/PĀNDE, but that are absent from the *Magavyakti*. In particular, we have *Svetabhadra*/*Śvetabhadra* and *Mihirasūl*/*Mihara*. The first name can be connected with various topics: according to MW (1107, I) Śvetabhadra is the name of one of the Guhyakas, the attendants of the god Kubera and guardians of his treasures; another link can be established with the legendary Śvetadvīpa,<sup>746</sup> Viṣṇu’s land, characterized by the whiteness of light (śveta-’s primary meaning is in fact ‘white’). Lastly, I cannot rule out that it is a reference to śvetra-, the ‘white leprosy’<sup>747</sup>: this is the blessed event that represents the starting point of Sāmba’s devotion to the sun. *Mihira* is one of the names of the sun; specifically, it seems to be the (Middle-)Iranian version of the god.<sup>748</sup>

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<sup>746</sup> See CLARK 1919: *passim*.

<sup>747</sup> Herodotus (*His.* CXXXVIII, 231) speaks of the ‘white disease’; BLOCH (2010: *passim*) thinks that Sāmba’s leprosy can be related to the *Shāh Nāmeh*’s story of Sām, who has a son with white hair. For references on leprosy in India and Iran, see PALLADINO 20??a.

<sup>748</sup> Cf. paragraph 2.1.

## 3.2 Two Other Poems

At the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, another manuscript is preserved in A.F. Weber's collection, under the label Ms.or.oct. 348. It contains two works, the *Sāmvavijaya* and the *Khalavaktracapeṭikā*, analysed in WEBER 1880. The hand of the copyist seems to be the same as that of the *Magavyakti*, and the quality of the paper is the same, too. Like Ms.or.oct. 347, the writing is in *nāgarī*, and it is clear and orderly. Especially in the *Sāmvavijaya*, we find numerous corrections, probably by different hands. They are two late texts, and the Sanskrit is good overall, even if there are some grammatical mistakes; the language is not very complicated and quite pleasant. For further information about the manuscript and the orthographic conventions, cf. WEBER 1880: 27. It is important to emphasize that the numeration of this manuscript features numbers on every other folio, so two folios correspond to one number (i.e. ff. 1, 1b, 2, 2b, 3, ...etc.).

### 3.2.1 The *Sāmvavijaya*

Starting with the title, the aim of the work is clear: to celebrate Sāmba's<sup>749</sup> victory. This 'victory' of Sāmba is rather his recovery from leprosy and the foundation of a worship site for the sun god.<sup>750</sup> The name of the work is the same as that of the *stotra* proclaimed by Sāmba in praise of the sun in the eleventh *adhyāya* (v. 57; cf. WEBER 1880: 40). This text, consisting of 129 ff. of 15 lines each, divided in 15 *adhyāyas*, also has an alternative title, *Vainateya-Nārada-samvāda*, due to its dialogic nature. Many sections of it are the same as in the *Bhavisya-purāṇa*, and its dialogic form may confirm the fact that it drew some portions of its text from there.

The story of the curse and the healing of Sāmba is essentially the same as that narrated in the Purāṇic passages, but in this case it is Kṛṣṇa who undertakes the procedure for his son's recovery. After praising the sun, they find the statue in the *Candrabhāgā*, and upon asking about the best Brāhmaṇas to worship the god, the answer is that, in the sixth *dvīpa*, there are the Magas, Māgasas, Mānasas and Mandagas; of these Brāhmaṇas, he should bring the Magas to

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<sup>749</sup> In the name, the *-b-* turns into *-v-* due to orthographical reasons discussed in the previous paragraph.

<sup>750</sup> Cf. WEBER 1880: 28.

the *Candrabhāgā* shore.<sup>751</sup> Garuḍa flies there and brings 18 families of Magas to Dvārakā on his back.

Then the story continues, and many interesting details are added. The sacrifice and adoration of the sun god takes place over seven days, at the end of which Sāmba has recovered.<sup>752</sup> We see that seven is an emblematic number in sun worship: the sun horses are seven in number, and even the contemporary Śākadvīpiya communities celebrate an important festival called Sūrya(or Ratha, or Māgha)-Saptamī (cf. paragraph 5.1.7). Kṛṣṇa himself sings in praise of the Magas and invites them to stay in Dvārakā, but they respectfully refuse and ask Garuḍa to bring them back to their land, Śākadvīpa (*adhyāya* 5, 15). While they are flying, they hear the lamentation of the prince of Magadha, Suloman, who is about to kill himself because he has contracted leprosy. The Magas, touched, decide to help him, and in reward, they receive a hundred villages (*grāma*-). They are fascinated by the city of Gayā<sup>753</sup> and they decide to settle in its proximity. This move to Magadha is very interesting, and we cannot rule out the notion that it refers to a historical event. In any case, four<sup>754</sup> of the 18 families decide to move, to live as ascetics and then go back to Śākadvīpa, while the other 14<sup>755</sup> decide to remain in Gayā.

In addition to the characters of the Purāṇic texts, the *Sāmvavijaya* includes other figures who are particularly significant: the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*; the text features an episode from the great epic. The Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira, wanting to perform a *rājasūya* sacrifice, asks Kṛṣṇa to defeat the Magadha king Jarāsandha, on the Kauravas' side, and free the kings imprisoned by him. Kṛṣṇa, endowed with the power of defeating his enemies in the form of Tridaṇḍin (together with Bhīma and Arjuna), bestowed by the Magas, comes to Gayā. Here he meets the 'Brāhmaṇas of the sixth *dvīpa*' at the temple of Gadādhara<sup>756</sup> (WEBER 1880: 37). This means that the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, even in ancient times, or at least at the time of the composition of this text, took care of the temples<sup>757</sup>, which is one of the fundamental activities they carry out even nowadays. Moreover, it is a Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu temple, which means that the Śākadvīpiyas not only took care of the sun god's temple, but that they were already devotees and experts in the *pūjā* of other gods as well (cf. chapter 5).

<sup>751</sup> *Ivi*: 32.

<sup>752</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>753</sup> The city of Magadha (today Bihār) is very famous in the Indian tradition: it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Ramāyana*, and it is the place of Buddha's enlightenment. In the sixth *adhyāya* of the *Sāmvavijaya*, we find an encomium of Gayā (cf. WEBER 1880: 34).

<sup>754</sup> Their names are Śrutiκīrti, Śrutiāyu, Sudharman and Sumati (cf. WEBER 1880: 36).

<sup>755</sup> They are called Mihiṇāśu, Sudhāṇśu, Bharadvāja, Vasu, Parāsara, Kaunḍinya, Kaśyapa, Garga, Bhiṛgu, Bhavyamati, Sūryyadatta, Nala, Arkadatta and Kauśila (*ibid.*). It is interesting to note that in this case, one of the names, Mihiṇāśu, contains an Iranian term, *mihira*-, probably the Bactrian form of the MP *mehr*.

<sup>756</sup> Literally 'bearing a club' (MW 344, III), it is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>757</sup> I have discussed above the controversial activity of taking care of temples (cf. paragraph 2.8).

Then the battle against Magadha begins. This episode is described in the *Mahābhārata*, ch. 34, although there are some minor differences. The *Sāmvavijaya* states that, after 27 days of battle, on the twenty-eighth day Bhīma defeated and killed the Magadha sovereign Jarāsandha. At this point, the Magas do not want to go back to Magadha; they decide to stay with Kṛṣṇa and perform the ritual for Jarāsandha's death.

The twelfth *adhyāya* contains the myth of Viśvakarman shaping the form of the sun, after his wife Samjñā has moved to the forest because she cannot stand the intensity of her husband's splendour. This story is an echo of the legend narrated in *Rgveda* I, 164, and it is told in different *Purāṇas*, including *Sāmba-purāṇa* 11 and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I. 79 (cf. chapter 1). In the *Sāmbavijaya*, the chips left over from shaping the sun's form are thrown in the wind, and they reach the sixth *dvīpa*, generating the 18 families of Magas upon contact with the earth (v. 73, cf. WEBER 1880: 40). *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I. 117, 23b–24 describes the birth of the Magas as their having emerged from the sun's body as a group of eight.<sup>758</sup> This story, in theory, justifies the superiority of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas among sun worshippers: according to the texts, they were born directly from the body of the god; this gives them the highest status and legitimacy in performing the sun's *pūjā*.

The thirteenth *adhyāya* recounts the previous status of the Magas, before they were called on by Kṛṣṇa in the *Dvāpara* era. During the *Treta yuga*, Daśaratha, the father of the famous hero Rāma, summoned four Magas for his rituals under the instruction of the sun god. Rāmacandra imitates his father's example, and wanted four Magas (Sudhānśu, Sudharman, Sumati and Vasu; v. 61) from Śākadvīpa to attend his *aśvamedha*. No other Gauḍa or Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas agree to take part to the ritual. Therefore, following the sun's advice, Hānuman brought 16 young Brāhmaṇa boys, belonging to the Kānyakuvja family, to Ayodhyā, offering them delicacies. Once in Ayodhyā, the boys are blessed by Vaśiṣṭha, and the four Magas teach them the Vedas; in this way the children become Brāhmaṇas in the full sense. Thanks to them, Vaśiṣṭha and the four Magas, Rāma can celebrate his *aśvamedha*. After that, the Magas go back to the sixth *dvīpa*, and the 16 Brāhmaṇas receive Rāma's lands east of Ayodhyā, on the northern shore of the river Sarayū; they are known as *Sarayū-pāriṇāḥ*<sup>759</sup>, and they identified completely with the Magas, by whom they were educated, and for this reason, celebrated and

<sup>758</sup> Bh. I. 117: *atha me cintayānasya maccharīrād viniḥsṛtāḥ // 23b  
śāśikundenḍusamkāśāḥ saṃkyayāṣṭau mahābalāḥ /  
paṭhanti caturo vedān-t-sāṃgopaniṣadāḥ khaga // 24*

<sup>759</sup> The names of the 16 families are given in the text (vv. 95–96): Garga, Gautama, Śāṇḍilya, Parāśara, Sāvarṇya, Kaśyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Gālava, Kauśika (according to the *Magavyakti*, I, 20, this is the name of one of the Magas' *gotras*), Bhārgava, Kasya, Kātyāyana, Angiras, Sāṃkṛt(y)a and Yāmadagnya (WEBER 1880: 44).

respected. They indeed have the same knowledge as the Śākadvīpiyas, and they settled in the Ayodhyā region. In the *Magavyakti*, we have the name *Sara/Sarai*, but it is recorded that the *Vāka/Māla* family stayed on the shore of the Sarayū (IV, 6: *v/mālārkā ye magās te nikhilaguṇamayās santi tīre sarayvā (-m !) [...]*).

The importance of the *Sāmbavijaya* lays in its attempt at a complete legitimization and justification of the presence of the Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas in India, both during the present era and in previous ones.<sup>760</sup> They were invited to come and settle in northern India, and they were respected by and helpful to the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They bear the names of the Ṛṣis and were created from the sun god's body, according to a myth narrated since Vedic times. This also shows that the author of this text indeed had a good knowledge of the epics and sacred literature in general.

### 3.2.2 The *Khalavaktracapeṭikā*

The second part of manuscript Ms.or.oct. 348 contains the *Khalavaktracapeṭika*, which is probably not the only text included in it.

The first folio begins with *śrī rādhāvallabhāśritaśāstrī yadunāthamiśra-paṇḍitavaryo hi vijayaty-tarām*, and on f. 26 we find *iti śrīmad rādhāvallabhacaraṇaśaraṇāśrayāpannatyadunāthaśāstriṇām samgrhītā sarvārthāvabhāsikā nirṇayadīpikā samāptim aphāṇit [...] samvat 1908*.<sup>761</sup> It seems that this Paṇḍit Yadunāthamiśra collected (*saṃgrīt-*) several different works in a compendium named *Nirṇayadīpikā*. *Nirṇaya-* is a specific term meaning 'deduction' in logic and 'narration of events' in rhetoric; maybe the latter meaning should be preferred in this case. It may come from the root *nirnī-*, in the meaning 'take away' (perhaps a malevolent insinuation about the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas?) or 'investigate'. This Paṇḍit was probably a devotee of the god Kṛṣṇa (*rādhā-vallabha-*, 'Rādhā's lover'), who assembled various texts about the Magas and their legend.

From folio 1, we have the real *Khalavaktracapeṭikā*, ending in folio 19 with [...] *śrīmām rājavallabhāmiśra-paṇḍita-viracitā khalavaktracapeṭikā-samāptā [...]*. Therefore, we have another declaration of authorship. The name of the text itself, *Khalavaktracapeṭikā*, which Weber translates as 'Maulschelle für die Bösen', is actually open to various interpretations;

<sup>760</sup> *Ivi*: 46 f.

<sup>761</sup> WEBER (*Ivi*: 50) quoting the passage from the manuscript, reads *saṃvat 1900*, even though the last digit is clearly an eight, written in the same way throughout the manuscript.

*capeṭikā-* is ‘a slap’ and *vaktra-* is ‘face’, and so the work claims to be a ‘slap in the face’, without any doubt. *Khala-* is a more controversial term, because it can mean ‘place, earth’, ‘battle, contest’ or ‘mischievous man’; it can also stand for ‘the sun’ (cf. MW 338, I). Maybe it is a slap in the faces of those mischievous men, who do not recognize the greatness of the Śākadvīpīyas. On the other hand, it could be the final word (a metaphorical slap) in a rhetorical contest. In any case, the text itself explicitly declares to have a purpose, probably consisting of the customary defence and legitimization of this class coming from Śākadvīpa.

The *Khalavaktracapeṭikā* consists of two parts: from ff. 1–10, we find the description of the seven *dvīpas* and of the classes of each of them. Interestingly, following a variant also adopted in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (V. 20, 28), the text lists the castes of Śākadvīpa as *Ratravata*, *Satyavrata*, *Dānavrata* and *Anuvrata*, and locates the Magas, Masakas, Mānasas and Mandagas in Plakṣadvīpa (f. 4; cf. WEBER 1880: 53; CLARK 1919: 224). Moreover, the god worshipped in Śākadvīpa is not Sūrya, but Vāyu. Then, in ff. 5–7b, we find a long quotation from the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, on the story of Sāmba’s healing. It is also stated that they were brought to Dvārakā by the will of Kṛṣṇa, who summoned them, learned in Āyurveda, to cure his son; they had the opportunity to attend Rāma’s *asvamedha* in Ayodhyā, too. Folios 7b–8 are taken from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (II. 4), precisely the description of Śākadvīpa and its four classes, Maga, Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga; the sun is worshipped in the form of Viṣṇu there. The phrase *magā vrāhmaṇa-bhūyiṣṭhā*<sup>762</sup> (°h) is also added, highlighting the importance of these Brāhmaṇas.

The second part is an investigation into the nature of the Brāhmaṇa; the text also provides an etymological and lexical explanation of the word itself, as well as synonyms (cf. WEBER 1880: 56). Even in this second part, the Magas are the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa. The core of this section consists in the affirmation that all Brāhmaṇas are notable and deserve to be honoured. An etymology of the name Maga is presented in f. 15: the explanation ends in defining them as *vedasvarūpiṇah sūryyarūpā vā*, i.e. they embody the Veda or have the form of the sun.

In ff. 15b–16, the Bhojakas are mentioned in relation to food; quoting the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, it is stated that they keep silent while eating, like the Ṛṣis (cf. Bh. I. 140), and that they are called Bhojakas because they feed the sun god (cf. Bh. I. 144). Then the author returns to the subject of the Magas, and explains their name as being *śākadvīpiyo brāhmaṇah*, even though in the first section he had asserted that the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa were called *Ratravata*.

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<sup>762</sup> *Bhūyiṣṭha-* (MW 763, III): ‘[...] most important, in the highest degree.’

Quotations from the *Sāmba-purāṇa* follow, but the main source seems to be the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*.

Another interesting piece of information is in f. 18b: the *śāmvā(s)* are mentioned here. The explanation of this name is *magā muṣṭikā mallāh*, i.e. despised people. In fact, these Magas, who are clearly different from the Brāhmaṇas, are raw flesh-eaters, who abide in the forests east of the Gaṅgāsāgara, near the sea. In any case, this association is one of the most condemning, and may lead to misunderstandings.

We have already stated that the *Khalavaktracapeṭikā* ends in f. 19 with the declaration of its authorship. In the closing (f. 18b), it is stated that this Rājavallabhamiśra (once again we have *Miśra* linked to the Śākadvīpiya context) stayed in Kāśī<sup>763</sup> (Varanasi). Then he mentions 14 other names, presumably those of the Paṇḍitas in the city, probably with the intent to inflate the importance of his work and to underline the fact that he was actually part of the Varanasi intelligentsia. From this perspective, the previously discussed rhetorical meaning of *khala-* would be suitable. Rājavallabha is labelling his work as being an argumentative text.<sup>764</sup> The identification of this author and the other scholars is far beyond our knowledge; a Rājavallabha is mentioned in the *Muhūrtadīpaka* by Mahādeva in 1661.<sup>765</sup>

After the *Khalavaktacapeṭikā*, in the manuscript we find a discussion of the *gotras* and the marriage policies in Mahārāṣṭra and Gurjara.

Finally, in ff. 26–26b, we once again find the names of the Maga families in the *Magavyakti*:  
*uruḥ khaṭenuḥ kṣeriś ca makhapā ca kurāya ca dekulī bhalunī caiva ḥumvarī (add. padarī) tathā // 5*

*adayī ca (add. pa)bh(e)rīsyād onḍarī puty atah param / e śivārī sarai kṣatra vārā vadhy oni jambu ca // 6*

*sikārī madaḍārī ca rahadaulīti nāmataḥ / [...] 7*

*dvādaśādityā devas te vāsuṇārko vināśavah mahurāśir devadīho duvarauro guṇāśavah // 8  
 kundā tathā malaundāś ca gandāvah sapahāpi ca arihāśir dehulāśir jayanty ete jayapradāḥ / [...]*

*[...] paṭśā candaroṭiś ca dihī kajha kapitthakau // 10*

*syā teraha-parāśo [']pi khaṇḍasūpas tathā paraḥ /*

*pālivādhah khajurahā bhedāpākarir ity api // 11*

*vipuro vaḍasāraś ca gīrvāṇā iva pūjītāḥ / [...]*

<sup>763</sup> F. 18b: [...] *kāśistha-...* Rājavallabhamiśrācāryya- [...] // 1

<sup>764</sup> Cf. WEBER 1880: 67.

<sup>765</sup> *Ibid.*

[...] *ullah pundro mārkañdeyo vālo lolah konaś cañah* [...] //

The ending, at f. 27, is // *iti magavyaktau saptārkāḥ* //.

Some of the names of the families differ from those listed in the *Magavyakti*. The most plausible hypothesis is that the author of this sort of anthology of different works and quotations could not directly consult the text of the *Magavyakti*, making some mistakes, like the insertion of *Vasuñārka-* in the series of the 12 *ādityas*. Another possibility is that the author took into account the regional variants of these names, discussed in paragraph 3.1. As a matter of fact, the presence of the list here is the confirmation of a connection between these texts, which probably belonged to the same (or a similar) environment.

The importance of the *Magavyakti*, the *Sāmvavijaya* and the *Khalavaktracapeṭikā* lays in the objective they share. It is evident that they were written for certain reasons, linked to the legitimization of the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas within Indian society. Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish whether this was a reaction and, in a certain sense, a vindication, to counteract the accusation of not being Brāhmaṇas. In fact, it is easy to imagine how a group coming from outside (maybe from Iranian lands) could have had problems being accepted in a closed caste society like the Brāhmaṇical one.<sup>766</sup> For this reason, authors belonging to the Śākadvīpiya group (cf. *Miśra* name) could have recounted their origins and mythical invitation to come to India to the public, thus claiming to deserve a high status, previously bestowed by Kṛṣṇa and Rāma.

Another reason for the production of these texts, also of social nature, could have been the fact that there was a huge concentration of Śākadvīpiya people, in those northern areas, and they needed the other Brāhmaṇas to know about their history and their families. In the end, the purpose in both cases was to be recognized and approved by Hindū society. Moreover, if these works are indeed the product of the sixteenth-century court environment, presenting the Śākadvīpiyas as coming from the outside, with a connection to the Persian world, may have helped them improve their reputation.

Thus it is clear that the three texts presented here are of different natures. In WEBER's opinion (1880: 70), 'Die Magavyakti ist für die Maga, so zu sagen, ihr hohes Lied aus der Gegenwart (der Abfassungszeit), der Sāmvavijaya bringt in epischer Breite die Begründung ihrer Ansprüche aus der Vergangenheit durch Anknüpfung an die epische, ja vedische Legende, – die khalavaktracap. endlich summirt kurz und bündig alle dem Vf. Zur Hand seienden Citate

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<sup>766</sup> On this topic, see PALLADINO 20??d.

über sie aus den Purāṇa.’ Especially in the other two poems, the association with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and with Rāma, and the fact that the Magas have names of the Rṣis’ families, testify to the importance and the wide presence of this group at the time. Furthermore, their presence was required by the gods themselves (the sun, Kṛṣṇa ...), who respect and honour them, too.

Beyond their social and ‘political’ value, these three works are very interesting for their content and the topics they deal with; we will see that many elements are still very much present in the knowledge and tradition of modern Śākadvīpīyas, drawing a line that connects the ancient Śākadvīpīyas communities to the contemporary ones.

## 4. Some Reflections on the Śākadvīpiya Presence in India

### 4.1 Epigraphic Evidence

Epigraphy is a fundamental source in investigating historical scenarios. Unfortunately, the inscriptions concerning or simply mentioning the Śākadvīpiyas are few in number, but they provide some important information.

Dating to the eighth century, the pillar inscription of Jīvagupta II, one of the Guptas of Magadha, informs us that he and his predecessor Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, who ruled over Magadha in the fifth century, held the Bhojakas in high esteem and donated lands to them (cf. HAZRA 952: 109). This inscription is in Deo-Baraṇārk, ancient Vāruṇīkā, and concerns the granting of the village Vāruṇīkā to the sun, called Varuṇavāsin.<sup>767</sup> The name of the village recalls one of the families in the *Magavyakti*, *Vāruṇārka*, and this village seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Arrah (Hindī name *Ārā!*) in the Bhojpur district, the present-day state of Bihār.<sup>768</sup> Furthermore, the granting of villages to the Śākadvīpiyas echoes the granting of lands in the mythological accounts (cf. for example the *Sāmvavijaya*, paragraph 3.2.1). The previously discussed ownership of property does not seem to worry the Bhojakas, at least not in the fifth to eighth centuries.

The inscription states (FLEET 1888: 216):<sup>769</sup>

‘12 [...] ...vijñāpita-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-bhaṭṭāraka-pratīva(ba)ddha-bhōjaka-Sūryamittrēṇa upari-likhi-

13 [ta] ..... grām-ādi-samyutam paramēśvara-śrī-*Vâ*(bâ)lādityadēvēna sva-śāsanēna bhagava-śrī- Varuṇavāsi-bhaṭṭāraka

14 ..... ka ..... va-parivā(?)haka ..... bhōjaka-Hansa-mittrasya samāpat[t]yâ yathākâl-ādhyāsibhiś-cha evam paramēśvara-

15 śrī-Śarvvavarmma ..... bhōjaka-Rishimittra ..... yatakam evam paramēśvara-śrī[ma]d-Avantivarmmaṇā pūrvva-dattakam-avalā-

16 [mbya] ..... evam mah[â]râ[jâdhirâ]ja-paramēśvara- ..... śāsana-dânēna bhōjaka-Durddha(?)ra(?)mittrasyânumô-

17 [dita] .... [...]’

<sup>767</sup> This inscription is mentioned also by PANDEY (1971: 213).

<sup>768</sup> FLEET (1888: 214) locates it in the Bengal Presidency.

<sup>769</sup> I have maintained Fleet’s method of transcription, because I have quoted his text directly.

(Ivi: 218):

‘(L. 12) – By the *Bhōjaka* Sūryamitra, belonging to (*the establishment of*) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavāsin, who was requested ..... the above-mentioned [village] ..... together with ..... and the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Bālādityadēva, by (*his*) own charter ..... the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavāsin ..... by restoration to the *Bhōjaka* Hamsamitra, and by those who presided at different times, *vis.* the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śarvavarman ..... [to] the *Bhōjaka* Rishimitra ..... by the *Paramēśvara* Avantivarman. In accordance to this practice ..... assent to its enjoyment by the *Bhōjaka* Durdharamitra was given, by the grant of a charter, by the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* .....; and it is now enjoyed by him.’

In the ninth century, we also have the *Ghatīyālā* inscription of Kakkura, near Jodhpur. The date on the inscription is Samvat 918 (= 861 A.D.). The second part of it (N II) contains 11 lines, of which the tenth states, ‘[...] *likhitaṁ mage[nā] Māṭravīṇa [...]*’,<sup>770</sup> so we know that the inscription was commissioned by the Maga Māṭravi. This points to the fact that Magas were well known in V.E. 918, at least in Rājputānā, the ancient Rajput kingdom, whose area corresponded approximately to modern Rājasthān. SCHEFTELOWITZ (1933: 231 f.) states, ‘Im 9. Jhdt ist der Mihira = Sūrya-Kult auch in Rājputāna belegt.’

HAZRA (1952: 109) ARORA (1971: 59) and HUMBACH (1978: 234, n. 17) refer to a stone inscription in Govindpur (Gayā district, Bihār) by the poet Gaṅgādhara. It is composed of 39 verses in 35 lines. The date at the end of the inscription is *Śāka* 1059 (= 1137–38 A.D.). In the first stanza, the Magas are mentioned (KIELHORN 1892: 33):<sup>771</sup>

*devo joyāt triloko maṇirayam aruno yan nivāsenā puṇyah  
śākadvīpas sa dugdhām vunidhivalayito yatra vipre magākhyā /  
vanśas tatra dvijānāṁ bhrami-likhita-tanorv bhāsvataḥ svāṅga -----  
śāmvo yānānīnāya svayam iha mahitās te jagatyāṁ jayanti // --- 2*

<sup>770</sup> For the text of the inscription, cf. HULTZSCH 1981: 279 f.

<sup>771</sup> Kielhorn presents the inscription in *devanāgarī*. I have transcribed it according to IAST standards.

(*Ivi*: 338):

‘(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmans are named Magas!

There a race of twice-born [sprung] from the sun’s own body, grazed by the lathe, whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious they are, honoured in the world!’

The Magas are mentioned in verse 3, as well (*Ivi*: 333 Skr., 339 transl.). The author himself was a Maga/Śākadvīpīya. According to this text, the first Maga was Bhāradvāja, and ‘his family had a hundred branches’ (*ibid.*). A certain Dāmodara belonged to his family, and he had a son, Chakrapāṇi, who in turn had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (*ibid.*). We are informed that Manoratha’s mind was ‘purified by the most sacred texts of Śaiva doctrine [...]’ (v. 13, *ibid.*). This Manoratha was a poet at the king of Magadha’s court, celebrated ‘as a modern Kālidāsa’ (v. 15, *Ivi*: 340). This man had two sons, our author Gaṅgādhara and his brother Mahīdhara. The names of the cousins, Daśaratha’s sons, are also mentioned: Harihara and Puroshottama (*Ivi*: 341).

This stone inscription contains various elements of significance: first, its richness of detail is useful in establishing historical context; the date at the end of the poem and the mention of the name of the king of Magadha clearly show the historical setting. Moreover, we have the names of many Magas/Śākadvīpīyas—the author and his father, for example—who were renowned court poets. Finally, yet importantly, we again find much information about the Śākadvīpīya legend and cult: according to the Purāṇic texts, the Magas are said to be born from the body of the sun. The inscription, moreover, does not only state that the Magas were brought to India by Śāmba, but also alludes to the story of Viśvakarman shaping the rays of the sun god (cf. also BANERJEA 1974: 144; PANDEY 1971: 83). Furthermore, the Śaivite nature of the text is clear, proving that at the beginning of the twelfth century, Śākadvīpīyas were involved in Śiva worship, an indication that the Śaiva branch had prevailed over the Saura one, merging together with it.

Based on the fact that they were called ‘Bhojakas’ in the eighth century, whereas in the twelfth they were called ‘Magas’ or ‘Śākadvīpīyas’, HAZRA (1952: 109) suggests that this could be a consequence of the Bhojakas having been socially demoted, maybe indeed due to the

possession of land.<sup>772</sup> According to Hazra, this goes hand in hand with the fact that, in the *Sāmba-purāṇa*, the term ‘Bhojaka’ has been replaced with ‘Yājaka’ (*Ivi*: 110; we will discuss this topic later).

For the moment, I think it is enough to note these two elements, which are indeed interesting: first, we have clear evidence of the power the Śākadvīpīya group had in the fifth, eighth and at the beginning of the twelfth centuries. Their legend was well known and they were actually part of the royal court. A second remarkable element is that their ancient settlements can also be confirmed by the epigraphic record; the regions of the Rājputs in the Northwest (today’s Rājasthān) and Magadha (today’s Bihār) have seen the constant presence of Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. This testimony surpasses any possible speculation, because from these inscriptions it is clear that the Śākadvīpīya tradition, which once reached the North Indian courts thanks to its greatness, is in line with the texts and has been cultivated throughout the centuries (cf. also paragraph 5.1.4).

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<sup>772</sup> HAZRA 1952: 109: ‘[...] But from the tenth century A.D. the descendants of the Brahmins from Śāka-dvīpa called their ancestors “Magas” or “Śākadvīpi” Brahmins but not “Bhojakas” at least in Magadha and Bengal.’

## 4.2 The Magas in Buddhist Sources

The reputation of the Maga/Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in Indian society also led Buddhists to take an interest in them. Buddhist sources appear to suggest knowledge of this group since the early centuries of the Common Era. The scholastic Abhidharma treatise *Karmaprajñapti*, which belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school and unfortunately is now preserved only in Tibetan translation, states that in the West there are the Maga Brāhmaṇas,<sup>773</sup> and that in their belief, ‘No sin comes about from the practice of perverted lustful behaviour towards a mother, a daughter, a sister, or a friend, a kinsman or the aged’ (cf. SILK 2008: 346 f.). The reason lies in the fact that they do not make any distinction between different kinds of persons, so even incestuous intercourse carries no consequence for them (*Ivi*: 347). We cannot be sure about the date of composition of this text, but it has been suggested that it could have been composed in the early centuries A.D. This is significant firstly for the historical evidence that Magas were present on Indian soil during that period; secondly, the text also reveals the geographical location of this community, (North)West India.

Another later Abhidharma text, \**Abhidharma Mahā-vibhāṣā*, preserved only in the Chinese version, states that in the West there are *mlecchas* called Magas, who believe that it is not a sin to have intercourse ‘with one’s mother, daughter, elder or younger sister, daughter-in-law or the like’ (*Ivi*: 438). This is due to their custom of sharing everything, from food and drink to roads and boats, and the same custom is adopted also with women (*ibid.*). This later text adds another piece of historical information: these Magas were actually foreigners, *mlecchas*, who came from outside, not Indians. Moreover, if we consider that the Abhidharma scholars generally resided in Gandhāra and Kashmir, they should instead have located the Magas in their south; the Persian Empire was to their west.<sup>774</sup>

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<sup>773</sup> SILK (2008: 346, n.6) reports the Tibetan version of their name, *bram ze mchu skyes*.

<sup>774</sup> *Ivi*: 440. Silk’s statement is pertinent because, as we will discuss later, the incestuous practice attributed to the Magas is clearly associated with the Iranian custom of close-kin relationships. Nevertheless, I would not rule out the possibility that by ‘the West’, Abhidharma scholars meant their own territories, in Northwest India, especially the Gandhāra region, and the nearby area of modern Mathurā, the ancient settlement of the Maga Brāhmaṇas according to the Purāṇas.

Finally, in another Buddhist text, Bhāvaviveka's<sup>775</sup> commentary on his own *Madhyamaka-hṛdayā-kārikā*—called the *Tarkajvāla* and only available in the Tibetan<sup>776</sup> version—we find some very interesting information about the Magas. First, they are explicitly associated with Persians, ‘who live in the land of barbarians’ (cf. KAWASAKI 1975: 1103), thus confirming that in the fifth century, the idea of the Magas coming from a foreign land, in particular Iran, was still widespread. Then, we find a list of their teachings, which includes some peculiar elements:<sup>777</sup>

- ‘[...] killing of ants and others does not go against morality’ (KAWASAKI 1975: 1102).

The custom of killing *xrafstra-* (Av.; MP *xrafstar*) animals, the evil animals, identified in Young Avestan and Middle Persian sources especially with reptiles and amphibians, is well attested (cf. 2.7).

- ‘The doctrines of Maga [...] have many points fairly common to the teaching of the Vedas’ (*Ivi*: 1102).

In SP 26, 46a/Bh I. 139, 90a, it is stated that the Magas are learned in the Vedas; similarly, in SP. 24, 7/Bh. I. 127, 8 the Vedas are accepted completely.

- ‘By killing bulls [...] one can hope to reach heaven’ (*ibid.*). This could be a reference to Mithraism and the slaying of the bull. We should presume that the Magas were not only associated with Persians, but also with Mithraism. In the seventh century, although it had vanished from the Western environment, Mithraism was still widespread in Sasanian Iran. We cannot exclude that the bull of Zoroastrian cosmogony, Gāw ī Ēwagdād,<sup>778</sup> the progenitor of all beneficial animals, could also have been a could also have been the referent here.

- ‘There an incestuous marriage is also spoken out. It is taught in the sacrificial rite of the bull-observance [...]. He should [...] have a sexual relation with his mother, with his aunts, with his own offspring like a bull’ (*Ivi*: 1101).

Again, incestuous relationships are presented as a peculiar feature of the Maga Brāhmaṇas. Probably, the association of the Magas with Iranian Magi led to the direct association with the

<sup>775</sup> Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya, Bhāviveka) was an Indian Buddhist philosopher who followed the Mādhyamika school of Nāgārjuna, but founded what is called the Svātantrika (*svatantra*, ‘independent’) tradition of Mādhyamika philosophy, which played a very important role in the development of Buddhism in Tibet (cf. TORELLA 2008: 123). He was quoted by Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti; he in turn mentioned Dharmakīrti and Candrakīrti in his for work. For this reason, we may assume that he was almost their contemporary, and that he lived around the seventh century (cf. LINDTNER 2001).

Bhavya would have acquired his knowledge of the Magas from an Abhidharma work.

<sup>776</sup> Here the name Maga is rendered as *ma ga* (cf. KAWASAKI 1975: 1102 n. 2; SILK 2008: 346 n. 6).

<sup>777</sup> Cf. also KAWASAKI 1975: 1100, 1099.

<sup>778</sup> For further information about this topic, see MALANDRA 2001.

very peculiar Iranian-Zoroastrian custom of close-kin intercourse and marriage. In later Buddhist philosophers, like Dharmakīrti, Durvekamīśra or Śāntarakṣita, Persians (*pārasīka-*) are associated with the custom of sleeping with their own mothers and marrying them.<sup>779</sup>

The Av. *xvāētuuadaθa*, Pah. *xwēdōdah*, is the marital union between father and daughter, mother and son or brother and sister, the most pious action in Zoroastrianism. For the etymology of the Avestan term, SKJÆRVØ (2013) states, ‘The first part of this compound appears to be *xvāētu* “family” (or similar), commonly thought to be derived from *xvāē-* “own” with the suffix *-tu-* [...]. The second part, *-vadaθa-*, is today commonly thought to be derived from a verb *vada-* (from \**vadh-*) “lead into marriage”, related to words in other Iranian and Indo-European languages denoting marriage or a marriage partner.’ In Pahlavi we have both the forms *xwēdōdah* and *xwēdūdah*. The close-kin marriage is modelled on Zoroastrian (Middle Persian) cosmogony, which contains a precedent for each of the three kinds of intercourse mentioned above: Ohrmazd himself started this practice, with his daughter Spandarmad, producing Gayōmard; then Gayōmard and his mother Spandarmad had the first human couple, Mašē and Mašyānē; finally, sister and brother had further pairs of sons,<sup>780</sup> who inhabited the different regions of the Earth. In a Zurvanite version of the cosmogony, we find speculation about Ohrmazd’s intercourse with his mother, too. Bhāvaviveka states that according to Magas’ ideas, ‘it is not right to say that one’s mother, sisters, daughters, and so forth are unproper as one’s object of sexual intercourse’ (KAWASAKI 1975: 1102); this reflects precisely the three kinds of Zoroastrian close-kin interaction: son and birth mother, father and daughter, sister and brother.

It seems that the practice of next-to-kin marriage was also very common among the members of royal or noble families, especially under the Sasanians (third to seventh centuries), although we have even earlier traces of this practice, in Achaemenid and Parthian times. One of the arguments Zoroastrians priests used to justify this practice was that good human qualities were maintained and improved in marriages between close relatives. Particularly for royal and noble families, this religious explanation was probably a pretext for an economical reason, namely to maintain their family’s property. The peculiarity of this Iranian custom had a certain resonance, and some classical authors also mention it: Ctesias of Cnidus, for example, who was

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<sup>779</sup> Cf. SILK 2006: 442 f.

<sup>780</sup> Actually, Mašē and Mašyānē ingested their first set of twins, who were born after a long period of celibacy because of Ahriman’s negative influence; this probably shows a kind of mental disturbance, with a regression to an ‘oral’ phase, and an attempt of ‘re-introject[ing ...] a new life, tearing and subsuming it (*oralsadistische Stufe*)’ (PANAINO 2009: 154f). After Ohrmazd’s intervention, they were able to have seven more sets of twins, who populated the earth.

a doctor at the Persian court around the fifth to fourth century B.C, reports a brother-sister marriage. Herodotus (3.31) informs us that Cambyses lived with his sister, and that Persians had never lived with their sisters before him. Catullus (ca. 84–54 B.C.), in his *Carmen 90*, writes:

*Nascatur magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando  
coniugio et discat Persicum aruspicium:  
nam magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet,  
si vera est Persarum impia religio,  
gratus ut accepto veneretur carmine divos  
omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens.*<sup>781</sup>

Catullus's poem is very significant, not only because of line 3, in which mentions mother-son intercourse, but also because he was apparently aware that this custom was part of the Persian cult.<sup>782</sup> Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.), in his *Metamorphoses*, narrates the story of Myrrha, the daughter of Cinyas, king of Cyprus, who was consumed with love for her father; she states that, in certain tribes, sons couple with their mothers and daughter with their fathers, and she wishes that she were part of those tribes (SILK 2008: 447 n. 42; SKJÆRVØ 2013). She does not specify that this custom is characteristic of Iranian peoples, but we may presume this because other, roughly contemporary authors are aware of this practice. Ovid's story is quoted in turn in (pseudo-)Plutarch's *Parallel Graeca et Romana* 22. Quintus Curtius Rufus (first to second century A.D.), in his *History of Alexander* (8.2.19), states that the Sogdian governor Sisimithres married his mother and had two sons with her, because 'among [the Persians] it is considered right for parents to have incestuous intercourse with their children' (SILK 2008: 448). Tatian (around 170 A.D.) affirms that the Magians in Persia consider it honourable to have intercourse with one's mother. Clement of Alexandria (second to third century A.D.), in *Stromata* 3.2.11.1, asserts that the Magi have intercourse with their mothers, daughter and sisters, because women are considered common property; this is mentioned also by Xanthus of Lydia (fifth century

<sup>781</sup> 'Let a magus be born from the execrable union between Gellius and his mother, and learn the Persian art of divination: as a matter of fact, it is appropriate that a magus is generated by a mother and her own generation (her son), if the sacrilegious cult of the Persians is true. [May he obtain] the favour with [his] invocations for worshipping benevolently the gods, liquefying in the fire omentum and grease.' The omentum is a fold of the peritoneum; here we find a reference to animal sacrifice.

<sup>782</sup> The term *religio*, in line 4, generally does not indicate the modern idea of religion, but encompasses a wide range of meanings, from 'superstition' to 'customs'; Roman religion was based on social customs, and gods were part of the Romans' everyday life. Here, Catullus seems to be aware that this kind of intercourse (which he defines *nefando*) was part of Persians' cultural and sacrificial life, which in turn is related to *magi*.

A.D.) in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum* F31. Moreover, the idea of Persians having intercourse with their close relatives has influenced the European imagination for millennia; in Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721, *Lettre LXVII*), we find the claim that Zoroastrians have practised brother-sister marriage ever since Cambyses had introduced the custom.<sup>783</sup>

In Arabic sources, the custom of close-kin marriage practiced by the *majūs*, a term for Zoroastrians in general, is deeply despised.

Non-Buddhist Indian texts generally do not report this Persian custom. Only the tenth-century Jain text *Yaśastilaka*, by Somadeva Sūri, states that Persians have intercourse with their own mothers, and the thirteenth-century *Smṛticandrikā* by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa confirms this practice (cf. SILK 2008: 446). Therefore, this interest in the Magas' and Persians' incestuous customs was peculiar to Buddhist sources in the Indian world. After the persecution of Buddhists, Christians, Manicheans and other cults<sup>784</sup> that followed Kirdīr's reform<sup>785</sup> in third-century Iran, it is conceivable that Buddhists (and not only Buddhists!) would be biased against Magians and Persians. Moreover, we are aware of the fact that there were not only commercial, but also cultural ties between the ancient Iranian and Buddhist worlds, and therefore it is understandable that Buddhist texts would show a good knowledge of Iranian customs.<sup>786</sup>

Finally, there is one last point to discuss. Bhāvaviveka, in the ninth chapter of the *Madhyamaka-hṛdayā-kārikā*, refers to the 'book of Maga' (*maga-śāstra*).<sup>787</sup> It seems that, exactly like the Vaiṣṇavas or the Śaivas, the Sauras also had their own canon of scriptures, which consisted of *Samhitās*. Unfortunately there is no remaining trace of any manuscript of this canon. Probably, the superimposition of Śaivism onto the sun cult was due to the fact that the latter progressively lost its patronage and could no longer maintain a separate identity. References to this *Sūrya-* or *Saura-purāṇa* are numerous.<sup>788</sup> We have one *Saurasamhitā* preserved, with instructions for the worshipping of the sun, but it claims to be part of the Śaiva

<sup>783</sup> Montesquieu, in letter LXVII, tells the story of Apheridon and Astarté, in which the protagonist falls in love with his sister: 'Mon père, étonné d'une si forte sympathie, aurait bien souhaité de nous marier ensemble, selon l'ancien usage des guèbres, introduit par Cambysé; mais la crainte des mahométans, sous le joug desquels nous vivons, empêche ceux de notre nation de penser à ces alliances saintes, que notre religion ordonne plutôt qu'elle ne permet, et qui sont des images si naïves de l'union déjà formée par la nature.' (LABOULAYE 1875 : 153) The term *guèbres* was used to indicate the Zoroastrians who escaped from Iran after the Islamic conquest (i.e. Pārsīs).

<sup>784</sup> MACKENZIE 1989, §11 – text: p. 42, transcription: p. 54, translation: p. 58: '[...] And Jews and Buddhists and Hindus and Nazarens and Christians and Baptists, and Manicheans were smitten in the empire, and idols were destroyed and the abodes of the emons disrupted and made into thrones and seats of the gods.'

<sup>785</sup> On Kirdīr's reform, see for example *Ivi*: 35–38 and PANAINO 2016a: 44, 82.

<sup>786</sup> For further information on the exchanges between Buddhist and Iranian culture, see PALLADINO 20??c.

<sup>787</sup> See KAWASAKI 1975: 1103.

<sup>788</sup> CHENET 1993: 354: 'C'est ainsi que D.R. Bhandarkar recueillit parmi des Śākadvīpa Brāhmaṇa de la région de Jodhpur l'écho d'un Sūrya Purāṇa, ouvrage perdu (à situer vers 800), auquel font cependant référence le Tithinirṇaya de Caṇḍeśvara et le manuscrit de Berlin du Bhaviṣyottara [...].'

Vāthula/Kālottara.<sup>789</sup> Under this analysis, even the *Sāmba-purāṇa* ultimately seems to be a product of the Śaiva environment.

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<sup>789</sup> Cf. SANDERSON 2009: 55.

## 4.3 The Historical Problem

Many scholars have dealt with the possible origins of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas and have tried to account historically for their presence on Indian soil.<sup>790</sup> We have already discussed the scarcity of the sources on them and the ahistorical nature of Indian texts. In fact, there is no real historical or historiographical tradition in India, but the narratives, myths and events continuously intermingle. External sources, like epigraphy or other outsider accounts of the Śākadvīpīyas, are scarce. Moreover, scholars have tried to advance many theories about their migratory waves and the relationship of different groups with Iranian and Indian culture. I will try to present a sort of timetable of the evidence and conjectures about the Śākadvīpīyas' history.

- Achaemenid times: We have the evidence of contact between the Achaemenid Empire and India.<sup>791</sup> SRIVASTAVA (1972: 246) affirms that some peculiar elements (like the iconography of the sun god or references in Purānic texts) takes time to become popular. The same is valid for mentions in other authors' works. Since we have the first mention of them in the very first centuries A.D., we must presume that they had come to India earlier, during Achaemenid times (sixth to fourth centuries B.C.). Another proof of contact with the Achaemenids may be embedded in the very name of the Maga Brāhmaṇas: 'Maga' may be related to the Old Persian *magu-*, even though the shift from *-a-* to *-u-* is not clear. SCHEFTELOWITZ (1933: 294) had already posited the same theory: in his opinion, a first migratory wave came to India in Achaemenid times, while others settled in the Drangiana lands (called Sakastāna)<sup>792</sup> and reached Indian soil in the first centuries A.D.
- Śakas and Kuśāṇas:<sup>793</sup> The most widespread idea is that at least the Magas<sup>794</sup> arrived in India with the Śaka tribes in the first century A.D. Actually, according to the Purāṇas, they came from Śāka-dvīpa, i.e. 'Śaka land' (cf. ch. 2.4), and it is plausible to consider an etymology connected with the Śaka people. Moreover, the syncretistic cult of the Śakas, and later of the Kuśāṇas, around the second century has many features in

<sup>790</sup> A brief discussion of some historical problems related to the Śākadvīpīyas is contained in PALLADINO 20??a.

<sup>791</sup> Cf. CHATTOPADHYAYA 1950.

<sup>792</sup> Cf. GNOLI 1967; DAFFINÀ 1967; SCHOFF 1976.

<sup>793</sup> For more information on these populations, cf. for example SCHEFTELOWITZ 1933; JUNGE 1939; DIKSHIT 1952 and 1953; EMMERICK 1968; CHAKRABERTI 1981; BAILEY 1985; MUKHERJEE 1988 and 2004; GRENET 2015.

<sup>794</sup> Cf. STIETENCRON 1966: *passim*; the scholar postulates that the Magas did not have Zoroastrian origins, because in the texts they are presented as Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas. According to him, the Bhojakas, who reached India in a second wave, were probably real Zoroastrian priests.

common with the Śākadvīpiya cult. The above-mentioned Kuṣāṇa coinage with the figure of Mihira is only one of the many examples we can cite. All the foreign populations that reached North India in the first centuries A.D. deeply influenced northern culture.

In the first centuries A.D., North India flourished, and amid such a scenario, ‘migrating groups tend to claim high status or to invent links with high status groups where migration involves assimilation with existing populations.’<sup>795</sup> In fact, foreign rulers, who were actually *mlecchas*, were able to carry out changes in the political and religious spheres. Those foreign invaders married into local families, promoted the use of Sanskrit and integrated perfectly into Indian society. This change in the ruling class naturally went hand in hand with a change in the people’s rules and customs. This is probably the reason for the transformation of many aspects of the northern Indian society during the first centuries A.D.

- In the second century A.D., there is the first mention of the Maga Brāhmaṇas, in Ptolemy’s *Geography* (123, 19): ‘74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bēttigō are occupied by the Brahmanoi Magoi as far as the Batai with this city [...].’<sup>796</sup> This is the first testimony of their existence and settlement by external authors. Furthermore, Ptolemy’s description seems fairly reliable for North India, and finds confirmation in the Purāṇas (at least in the sections set at the *Candrabhāgā* river).<sup>797</sup>
- In the first centuries A.D., the Abhidharma literature deals with the Magas’ incestuous customs (cf. paragraph 4.2).
- Although we cannot date the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇic materials with precision—because they essentially belong to an oral tradition that took its written form over centuries—it is not easy to establish a chronology for their various references to the Magas, the Bhojakas etc. For the *Mahābhārata*, scholars generally agree on a period of composition between the third century B.C. and the third A.D.; the Purāṇas definitely evince a more extended time frame. We have already discussed the problem of dating the Purāṇic material; in general, it is believed that the central core of this literature was established between the third and fifth centuries A.D. (cf. HAZRA 1958: *passim*). Even the relatively recent *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* contains one section, the *Brāhma-parvan*, which

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<sup>795</sup> THAPAR 2000: 729.

<sup>796</sup> MCCRINDLE 1974: 167.

<sup>797</sup> Cf. KOSAMBI 1964: 36.

probably dates to the sixth century A.D. (*ibid.*). We have seen that other Purāṇas sometimes mention the names of the classes of Śākadvīpa, while in others they simply narrate the legend without mentioning these names (or other names). According to SRIVASTAVA (1996: 45), the ‘[...] Skanda Purāṇa testifies that these Magas were brought from the Śākadvīpa twice, once in connection with the Sāmba-legend and the next time with the sacrifice of Brahmā in Bodh Gaya. It is also stated that they migrated to Magadha (Patna region of India) at the invitation of king Vasu.’

The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (3.13.52) tells of a *devala(ka)* who was brought from Śākadvīpa by Garuḍa and called *śākadvīpī vipra (brāhmaṇa)*.<sup>798</sup> This is very interesting in light of the accusation of the Śākdvīpīyas being *devalakas* for taking care of the sun god’s property. Even nowadays, they are not always considered Brāhmaṇas as having an equal status as other Brāhmaṇas (cf. chapter 5.1).

- In the fifth century A.D., the sovereign Narasimhagupta Bālāditya ruled over Magadha. It is written in the Deo-Baraṇārk inscription (cf. 4.1) that this king granted some land to the Bhojakas.
- During the fifth century, other foreigners arrived in India, namely the Hūṇas. By the time they reached North India, the population was already accustomed to *mleccha* rulers. They adopted Sanskrit as the official language and transformed the Gangetic plain into a region of different religious streams and new cults as well.

The Brāhmaṇical class also had to update their ritual practices and cultural habits under the new ruling class. During this period, we witness a monotheistic turn in Brāhmaṇical religion, and many different branches of Hinduism many new branches of Hinduism emerged amid this trend.<sup>799</sup> This kind of open and variegated religious (and social!) reality probably attracted foreign rulers.<sup>800</sup>

- During the Gupta period (ca. third to sixth century A.D.), ‘[...] the Saura-cult which was popularised by the priests like the Magas and the Bhojakas as well, met with wonderful success and the whole region of India got studded with beautiful sun-icons and temples. In fact the period falling in between the Gupta age and the 13th Century A.D. can reasonably be described as the classical age of Sun-worship in India’ (PANDEY

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<sup>798</sup> BRONKHORST 2007: 12.

<sup>799</sup> THAPAR (2000: 971 f.) states, ‘The evolution of Hinduism is not a linear progression from a founder through an organizational system, with sects branching off. It is rather the mosaic of distinct cults, deities, sects and ideas and the adjusting, juxtaposing or distancing of these to existing ones, the placement drawing not only on belief and ideas but also on the socioeconomic reality.’

<sup>800</sup> *Idem.* 1984: 177.

1971: 189). Furthermore, it is during Gupta age that the iconography of the sun god assumed its peculiar features in North India (cf. 4.3).

- The Hūṇas, as we discussed before, allowed North India to harbor a variety of religious streams. These rulers are remembered for having been especially devoted to the sun god. In the first half of the sixth century, there ruled the previously mentioned Hūṇa king Mihirakula, who built a temple consecrated to Mihiśvara (cf. 2.3).
- In the sixth century A.D., we also find the important figure of Varāhamihira. We have discussed the information on the Magas contained in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. BANERJEA (1974: 143) recalls that in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (II, 13, on *Samvatsarasūtra*), Varāhamihira alludes to the fact that the Bhojakas have this name because they prepare the food for offerings.
- Bhāvaviveka mentioned the Magas and their customs in the seventh century (cf. 4.2), equating them with the Persians.
- In the seventh century, we have also the *Sūryaśataka* by Mayūra, who celebrates the sun god and compares himself, who had contracted leprosy, with Sāmba.
- Also in the seventh century, we have Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*, in which it is stated that Tāraka, the astrologer at king Prabhākaravardhana's court (second half of the seventh century) was a Bhojaka.<sup>801</sup> Based on the fact that the Bhojakas were never mentioned before the sixth century, HUMBACH (1969; 1978: *passim*) believes they may have reached India around the sixth century, in a subsequent migratory wave.

According to HAZRA (1958: 98), another migratory wave, this time of fire-worshipping Zoroastrian people, arrived in India around the seventh century, after the Islamic conquest of the Iranian lands. These people may have added the Zoroastrian ritual elements to the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (*ibid.*).

- Further testimony from the seventh century comes from the Chinese pilgrim Xuánzàng, who states that Multān is known as Sāmbapura, and that people there celebrate a festival called *Sāmbapurayātrā* (cf. 2.1)
- The *Sāmbapañcāśikā* was probably composed in the eighth century A.D. (its *terminus ante quem* is the appearance of Kṣemarāja's commentary in the eleventh century). The text exhibits a tendency to identify the sun god with Śiva, even though the latter is never explicitly mentioned in the poem (cf. 2.1).

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<sup>801</sup> Cf. HUMBACH 1978: 245.

- Jīvagupta II's inscription (cf. 4.1), which also dates back to the eighth century, confirms a grant of land to the Bhojakas. In fact, this is the last mention of the Bhojakas in an inscription or in other authors' works. Previously we discussed the supposition that Bhojakas were not mentioned from that moment on because they lost their status (cf. 4.1). HUMBACH (1978: 245) states, 'In the BhP. the term Bhojaka alternates with Maga, whereas in the SP. it is usually replaced by Yājaka, "sacrificer". Hence one may infer that the Bhojakas considered themselves Magas but were not recognized by the latter.' He indeed endorses HAZRA's theory (1952: 109 f.; 1958: 96) that the Bhojakas were held in high esteem until the eighth to ninth centuries, then progressively lost their status due to their owning of property and the accusation of their being devalakas. The *Bhavisya-purāṇa* contains a defense in support of the Bhojakas' status. In *parvan* I. 117, 5b it is directly stated that they are different from the devalaka priests. In the *Bhavisya-purāṇa* (I. 146, 1–11), the story of the Ṛṣis Nārada and Parvata is narrated. They go to the celestial dwelling of the Bhojaka Ādityakarman to prove that Bhojakas' food is edible and that their hospitality must be accepted. Only corrupt Bhojakas must be condemned. These statements might indeed suggest a real social accusation and a lowering of the Bhojakas' status. On this point, THAPAR (1984: 135 f.) writes:

The process of the assimilation of the Maga *brāhmaṇas*, who practised cults deeply influenced by sun-worship, is characteristic of the acquiring of *brāhmaṇa* status by rather similar groups. So low was their position within the *brāhmaṇ* hierarchy that the *brāhmaṇas* are contemptuously described as associated with the *mlecchavamśa*, although in the *Bhavisya Purāṇa* they acquire respectability. It could be argued that every tribe or occupational group has its own priests to minister to its religious needs, and as the tribe or the group moved up in the social scale and improved its ritual status, the priests likewise moved into and up in the *brāhmaṇ* hierarchy. [...] A religious movement could also become a mechanism for social mobility.

Furthermore, in the ninth/tenth century, the Bhojakas were also mentioned in the *Manubhāṣya*<sup>802</sup> by Medhātithi; the author listed 'all those outside [the Veda]' (SANDERSON 2015: 160). Like the Jainas, the Buddhists, and other Hindū communities (especially Tantric ones), the Bhojakas 'do not claim that their religious practices derive [...] from the [...] Veda; and indeed their teachings contain doctrines that directly

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<sup>802</sup> Erudite commentary on the *Manusmṛti* (cf. SANDERSON 2015: 159).

contradict it' (*ibid.*)<sup>803</sup>. This is particularly meaningful in relation to different issues: first, we have a break with the Maga Brāhmaṇas 'versed in the Vedas' (cf. the above-mentioned SP 26, 46a/Bh I. 139, 90a; SP. 24, 7/Bh. I. 127, 8; *Sāmvavijaya*, *adhyāya* 13; even contemporary communities rely on the Vedas). Moreover, Medhātithi associated the Bhojakas with the Tantric groups like the followers of the Pañcarātra. We discussed the importance of Tantric elements in the Saura tradition, and it is possible that the Bhojakas were considered expert in the matters of Tantric sun worship. The fact that they were placed outside Vedic orthodoxy may be due to their lower social status, their alleged association with *devalakas* and their exclusion from the *brāhmaṇa* class.

- In ninth century, we have the Ghaṭīyālā inscription of Kakkura, in which the name of a Maga is mentioned (cf. 4.1).
- During the tenth century, al-Bīrūnī wrote his account on India, and stated: '[...] There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga' (SACHAU 1983: I, 21; it is also quoted in BRONKHORST 2015: 471).
- In the twelfth century, we find Gaṅgādhara's inscription in Govindpur, in which many particulars of Sāmba's legend are cited (cf. 4.1).
- Konārka's sun temple was built in the thirteenth century. It is clearly one of the most majestic examples of Tantric art. In fact, during the medieval period, even the sun cult spread in its Tantric version (PANDEY 1971: 189; on Tantric sun cult, cf. SRIVASTAVA 1996: 67-82).
- Finally, we cannot date the later poems *Magavyakti*, *Sāmvavijaya* and *Khalavaktracapeṭika* with precision. According to its declaration of authorship, the *Magavyakti* can at least be traced to court of Akbar in the sixteenth century (cf. 3.1). Since the other two texts seem to be the product of the same environment, because they deal with very similar topics, they may be roughly contemporaneous with the *Magavyakti*. As for the *Khalavaktracapeṭikā*, the self-avowed author places himself in Vārāṇasī. In the same manuscript, the text is followed by a list of the names of the *Magavyakti*; for this reason, we may presume that it is almost contemporary, or maybe slightly later than the other one.

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<sup>803</sup> SANDERSON's translation is based on the *Manubhāṣya* contained in the Gangānātha Jhā. Bibliotheca Indica edition (256. 3 vols, Allahabad, 1932–1939) of the *Manusmṛti*, vol. 1, p. 57, ll. 5–6.

This chronology highlights the constant presence of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in northern India. Even though it is not possible to trace a real history of this group and the sources are too scarce to admit certainties, it is undeniable that Śākadvīpīyas were indeed influential at a social level and probably at court, too. In fact, the presence of foreign rulers must have fostered this peculiar sun cult. Moreover, the people from Śākadvīpa have all the syncretistic features that characterized the cultures of the populations that settled in between India and Iran.



## 5. A Chat And A Chai

This chapter is the result of the period I spent in India from 10<sup>th</sup> September to 20<sup>th</sup> December, at Shiv Nadar University in Greater Noida (Delhi), Udaipur (20<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> October), Jodhpur (26<sup>th</sup> October to 2<sup>nd</sup> November), Bīkāner (2<sup>nd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> November) and Patna (30<sup>th</sup> November to 5<sup>th</sup> December).

I left for India with my own ideas on the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, influenced especially by what I had read in books and papers by other scholars. With the help of professors and colleagues, I had prepared an interview that was focused on historical problems and connected with my knowledge of Purāṇic texts. The aim of this semi-open interview was to investigate the link that the modern communities of Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas maintain with their own past and history, and the way they perceive this. What I was looking for was a connection with the material I had collected, reflected in their own emic perspective.

Many scholars, who have grappled with the postulated Iranian origin of the Śākadvīpiyas have stressed the possibility of their having invented their own tradition, inspired by some basic notions of Zoroastrianism drawn from contemporary Pārsī communities. Even if they had borrowed some technical terms from the religious objects from the Pārsī tradition, there must have been a link with the Iranian world; otherwise, we cannot explain some of the deep-rooted Iranian-Central Asiatic traits of the Śākadvīpiyas in the past and in the present — above all the religious practices, which I had not intended to investigate in this research. The purpose of the study was rather to let living communities talk about their own ancestors, and to understand whether their link with the Iranian world still existed, especially since ‘[...] oral narrative is an important source of alternative visions of the past’ (HERZFELD 2001: 61).

This was my purpose when leaving for India. Thanks to the E-Qual project, a project on e-learning which involves the University of Bologna as well as Shiv Nadar University in Delhi, I had the opportunity to be introduced to some exponents of the Śākadvīpiya communities in Delhi, Rājasthān (Udaipur, Jodhpur and Bīkāner) and Bihār (Patna).

The first obstacle to my work was to find a target group who could at least understand English and who are versed in the history of their community. I was advised to verify the reliability of the people I consulted because, especially in Rājasthān, Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas are not learned men, and they are not aware of their past or even their ritual practices. They belong to traditional Śākadvīpiya families and they worship the gods in the temple with *mantras* and *pūjā*, like their fathers and grandfathers did before them, but they do not know Sanskrit, for

example; they have learned the traditional *mantras* by heart, but they cannot translate them properly.

What I did not expect, upon arriving in India, was the fact that communities could in turn be so interested in me. Suddenly my field research became a mutual exchange of questions and information. What they always wanted to know, before answering my questions, was the story of how I became interested in this topic, why I had chosen to study Sanskrit at university, and how many years I have spent on my research. Especially in Bīkāner, they also congratulated me and declared themselves very impressed by the fact that I had left Italy to come to India just to improve and complete my studies. They welcomed me into their houses and offered me gifts and food; moreover, they never allowed me enough time to finish my interview before moving on to other activities. They honoured me by gathering groups of people just to meet me. They allowed me to do the *pujā* for the sun god in their small home worshipping places, explaining their everyday cultural practices to me. They invited me for lunch and dinner and took me to visit many *mandirs*. In some sense, my interviews unexpectedly became a sort of participant observation. They shared their customs and religious practices with me, letting me practice with them and join in these communal moments.



इटली की डा. माहिना पोल्लादिना शोप कार्य के लिए वीकानेर में सम्मानित



कार्यक्रम में श्रस्य अतिथि के रूप में बोलते हुए डा. माहिना पोल्लादिना  
अन्ना मेट्र स्कूलिंग में बोलोनिया विश्वविद्यालय (इटली)



Visits to the members of the communities in Bīkāner and in Delhi.

On the left: with Dr. Bharti Bhojak

On the right: with Mr. Kumar Manish Mishra



With the oldest member of the Šākaldvīpi community in Patna, Mr. Rangan Sūridev.

‘Non v’è dubbio che le parole costituiscano il principio (nel doppio senso di inizio e di preceitto) dell’impresa etnografica ma anche uno dei suoi fini (sottoforma di testi etnografici), dei suoi mezzi (in termini di comunicazione) e dei suoi metodi (in termini di conoscenza) [...]’ (CUTURI 2011: 125). For this reason, direct contact and interaction with contemporary Šākadvīpiya communities was very useful also in rethinking my own etic perspective. The members of these communities, as actors of the social drama and ‘[...] agents of a process that draws in circular fashion on historical precedent in order to legitimate the present [...]’<sup>804</sup>, could provide me with the correct idea of their own identity, drawn from the reading of history. The traditional literature about their past is in Sanskrit, and very few members of contemporary communities can read it; however, we will see that the majority of their practices and knowledge of their history is drawn directly from the texts previously discussed. First, we have to take into account that traditional Indian knowledge is generally oral, and it is ‘[...] an assumption of western European historical discourse that history must be textual.’<sup>805</sup> They cannot read the texts, but the content of these texts was probably part of a tradition that has been preserved and transmitted for generations. Moreover, the peculiarity of Indian history is that historical texts in a strict sense are lacking, and historical events must be adduced from mythological and sacred literature.<sup>806</sup> Finally, the modern communities’ knowledge of their history is based on other people’s historical narrative, which in turn could be the result of ancient communities’ invention of the past. Therefore, we have before us a sort of historical metanarrative.

In any case, to better understand the Šākadvīpiyas’ own idea of their past, also in relation to ancient texts, it is necessary to discuss separately every topic they informed me about during the interviews (cf. APPENDIX C).

<sup>804</sup> HERZFELD 2001: 59.

<sup>805</sup> *Ivi*: 63.

<sup>806</sup> On this topic, see also PALLADINO 20??d.

## 5.1 Interview Results

### 5.1.1 The Name

It is evident, that the name of the community is related to its land of origin, *Śākadvīpa* — a fact that was repeated to me in every interview. In Uttar Pradesh (Delhi), the most common spelling of the general name of these Brāhmaṇas seems to be ‘Śākdvīpī’, attested also as surname in the Anglicized form Shakdwipee (cf. INT. 1), maybe due to significant immigration from Rājasthān. In Rājasthān, next to ‘Śākdvīpī’ we also find the form ‘Śākdvīpīya’ (Engl. Shakdweeziya), which is definitely a typical secondary derivative form. On the contrary, in Bihār they call themselves ‘Śākaldvīpi’ Brāhmaṇs; the origin of the lateral consonant *-l-* is not clear to me.

### 5.1.2 Numbers and Surnames

According to their testimony, Śākadvīpīya people are present all over India, and especially in Rājasthān and Bihār, the most ancient places of settlement. One of my interviewees, Mr. C. Shakdweeziya from Udaipur, prepared a catalogue of the names, addresses, contacts and family history of every Śākadvīpīya family in Rājasthān (year 2003/04). In the Mārvār and Mevār regions alone, there are 400 Śākadvīpīya families (INT. 3, 11.23). In Bīkāner, they are around 25,000 in number, and in Rājasthān they seem to be around one 100,000 (INT. 5, 3.35). My interlocutor added that Bīkāner is the city with the densest concentration of Śākadvīpīyas, and that they are numerous in the Magadha-Bihār region, too. In Jodhpur, Rājasthān, they represent the eight percent of the total population (INT. 4, 0.19).

They have also adopted typical surnames, some of which are particularly meaningful; these will be discussed later. The surnames differ according to the state, too. For example, *Sevak* is still used only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner (INT. 5, n. r. information). The most common surnames are (all given in English spelling): *Mishra*, *Bhojak*, *Mag*, *Pathak*, *Sharma*, *Pande*, *Sevak*, *Upadhyay*, *Vyās*, *Maharshi*, *Davera*, and naturally *Shakdwipee* and *Shakadveeziya*.

### 5.1.3 Śākadvīpa

We have dealt with the possible coordinates of the mythical Śākadvīpa in the second chapter. What emerged from the interviews is that people have different ideas about this legendary island: all the interviewees in Bihār (INT. 6, 7, 8) told me that Śākadvīpa was coextensive with Iran, without a doubt. My hosts in Patna, who did not want to be interviewed because they claimed not to have a good knowledge of the topic, even though they were part of the community, stated that the ancient Śākadvīpa was part of the Iranian lands. Moreover, my first interlocutor in INT. 6, added that for this reason, contemporary communities still have some Iranian features. I asked for more information about this topic, but he did not reply.

In Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, people were generally more cautious in their claims: ‘Śākdvīp<sup>807</sup> is one of the ancient *dvīpas* ... Some people think that it can be identified with Persia’ (INT. 1, 5.38); ‘I do not know exactly where is Śākadvīpa. There are some theories about that, it’s near Iran ... It’s near ... Śākdvīp ... I learned in ... Atlantic Sagar. Exactly I don’t know where ... Exactly I am not having any proof of this, from where we have come’ (INT. 5, 2.29). Only in one case did the interviewee deny a possible link with Iranian lands, connecting the etymology of the name Śākadvīpa with the Śāka tree: ‘From the *śak* tree. Some thinks it is related to Sakas ... like Kūṣāns, Hūṇās ... But that’s not true. It is the *śak* tree, a tree that has constantly various fragrances ...’ (INT. 3, 0.23).

Therefore, the general tendency of identifying Śākadvīpa with Iran is present, or at least the people belonging to these communities claim to have foreign origins. Śākadvīpa is, above all, a mythical island, and they are proud of having this peculiarity in their tradition. In the end, origins do legitimate; and distant origins, in terms of time or space, legitimate even more fully, because they are in a certain sense inaccessible.<sup>808</sup> For this reason, the Śākadvīpiyas let their being foreigners to become their peculiarity and their cohesive point; this is reflected in their name, too. On the other hand, for this reason they still have problems being accepted as Brāhmaṇas: ‘But we are not considered Brahmins from a great part of Indian society ... [...] Because we are foreigners’ (INT. 7, 14.43, 14.51).

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<sup>807</sup> The modern pronunciation of the island’s name is ‘Śākdvīp’. I have decided to adopt it in transcribing the interviews.

<sup>808</sup> Cf. HERZFELD 2001: 71, who quotes HELMS 1988.

### 5.1.4 Migration to India: Legend and History

The *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* deal with the legend of Sāmba contracting leprosy and praying to the sun god for his recovery; then he finds a statue of the sun in human appearance in the river *Candrabhāgā* and brings 18 families of Magas, the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa, to properly worship the idol of the sun. Having considered the version of the legend transmitted in the later poems (cf. paragraph 3.2), we notice that the Magas/Śākadvīpīyas are brought to India from Śākadvīpa not only to pray to the sun, but also to directly heal Sāmba (and not only him) from leprosy. In fact, over the centuries, this group must have specialized in Āyurvedic medicine, and they have come to be directly associated with the ability of healing. In a certain sense, the ancient power of the sun to cure all diseases has been transferred to the Śākadvīpīyas.

Generally, my interviewees were all aware of the Purāṇic legend of Sāmba's disease and his recovery. In their stories, it is the sun god who cures Sāmba,<sup>809</sup> thanks to the intervention of the Śākadvīpīyas, specialists in sun worship (INT. 2, 0.25; 5, 0.41; 7, 13.41). Those priests came to India and settled first in Multān (cf. INT. 5, 0.41), the first of the three sun dwellings mentioned in the Purāṇas. This place has become associated with the name Mathurā, also adopted as a family name in the *Magavyakti* (Mahurā > *Mahurāśi*). Then, they spread out all over India, especially to Magadha-Bihār, which is probably one of the most ancient settlements, and to Rājasthān, Tamil Nadu and every other part of India (cf. INT. 5, 0.45).<sup>810</sup> Therefore, even the mythological journey from Śākadvīpīya had its stages. On a historic note, one of my interlocutors told me that, after the Partition in 1947, many Śākadvīpīyas who were settled in Punjab moved to the Sindh region (INT. 1, 13.17). It is interesting to note that many people in this group were actually living in north-western India/Pakistan until the middle of the twentieth century. This may be a confirmation of their having come from the west, and that the legend of the migration may underlie a historical truth. If we also consider the current king of Ayodhyā is a Śākadvīpīya and that, according to the *Sāmvavijaya* and the *Khalavakracapeṭikā* the Magas/Śākadvīpīyas were brought to Ayodhyā to help Rāma and Rāma's father, it is impossible not to think about a connection between myth and history. Moreover, one of the names in the *Magavyakti* is *Ayodhyāra*, which means that those people should at least have come from that

<sup>809</sup> One of the interviewees told me that the sun did not heal Sāmba, he cured him; a cure is permanent, while healing is not (cf. INT. 7, 14.02).

<sup>810</sup> Some communities believe that, even in ancient times, some Śākadvīpīya people moved outside India, to Australia, America and Mongolia. They postulated also that 'Mongolia' [mɔŋ 'gouliə] might have taken its name from 'Mag' (cf. INT. 3, 7.42).

city, as the name testifies to their social presence there. A similar circumstance obtains for their legendary settlement in Gayā, another mythological settlement, again in Magadha-Bihār, in which we find epigraphic evidence of the presence of this group. In this case, my opinion is that the myth and history merged, influencing each other continuously. This, I think, is the peculiarity of historical chronicles in India, or rather, the peculiarity of Purāṇic chronicles. The Purāṇas, being ‘histories of ancient times’, narrate stories of real and mythological kings, and historical facts, confirmed by other sources, which are enriched by the presence of gods and heroes.

In any case, the story of the migration represents a common heritage of all the contemporary Śākadvīpiya communities, a peculiarity of their identity. Some of the versions of this legend have further implications. According to my seventh interviewee, the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas refused to come to India to help Sāmba in his recovery, so Kṛṣṇa devised a plan: ‘He sent Garuḍa to a field in which the children of these doctors used to play. The bird stayed there and then he flew away; sixteen children hung to Garuḍa’s body and flew to Dvārakā with him. [...] Those sixteen children then married local girls and they settled first in Bihār, Gayā region, then to Jodhpur/Jaipur region and all over India. They gave names to sixteen *purs*. They are related to cities. It is said also that they gave names to the cities in relation to the parts of Garuḍa’s body they were attached while flying to India’ (INT. 6, first interlocutor). This story is clearly very similar to the one contained in the *Sāmvavijaya*. The number of the boys coincides and the deceptive way in which Garuḍa attracts them, even though it is different (in the *Sāmvavijaya* he offers them delicacies), has the same purpose.

In another version, Kṛṣṇa offers the Śākadvīpiyas the opportunity to stay in India, but they refuse (cf. *Sāmvavijaya* 5). Again, he cheats them, feeding Garuḍa with apples containing some gold, which impede Garuḍa from flying and forces the priests to remain in India (cf. INT. 7, 14.15). I could not find any trace of this story in the ancient literature.

Further questions can be raised about Garuḍa, the mythological vehicle of Kṛṣṇa, probably a huge bird. If the myth really represents a historical event, of which contemporary Śākadvīpiyas are convinced, Garuḍa may have been a ship, which in reality sailed from Iran to India in reality. I have heard also about the possibility of a prototype of a plane, which is perfectly in line with the mounting Indian belief that the ancient sacred texts already contained all the ideas about technology and progress.

### 5.1.5 The Sacred Text

Like all the other Hindūs, the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas rely on the Vedas as their primary source. The importance and centrality of these texts to Hinduism, and the fact that people from Śākadvīpa rely on them as well, is the first point of unity with other Brāhmaṇas. Their peculiar identity must not clash with the social need to be accepted and legitimated. They are indeed part of Hinduism, and the Vedas are the most ancient scriptures, the utmost in terms of wisdom and sacredness. The most interesting piece of information came from the oldest member of the Śākadvīpīya community in Patna: he told me that the existing Vedas are four, but that the ‘Śākadvīpis had another one, but it was destroyed’ (INT. 8, 2.18). I tried to ask more about this fifth Veda, but he told me they did not know its name. They just knew it existed and then it was destroyed. This is incredibly meaningful, and can be connected with two points: in the *Bhavisya-purāṇa* (I. 140, 37), some ‘reversed’ Vedas are mentioned<sup>811</sup>; these Vedas, which are defined as *viparīta-*, had been proclaimed by Brahmā in ancient times, like the other Vedas (Bh. I. 140, 36). Moreover, in this remark we find a trace of the *Saura-purāṇa*, probably identified with ‘the book of the Magas’ mentioned by Bhāvaviveka, which does not exist anymore. Even in the RORI manuscript of the *Magavyakti*, I found a mention of this work in the annotations, testifying to the fact that people at the end of the nineteenth/beginning of the twentieth century still had knowledge of this text. We cannot rule out that this *Saura-purāṇa* may simply have changed its name, or that people employed this expression to indicate another text. In any case, the reference to a specific work, now lost, sounds too familiar to be a coincidence. Furthermore, the fact that only the 95-year-old Biharī member informed me about this point, may indicate that middle-aged Śākadvīpīya people are no longer aware of this information.

The legend of their migration and the description of their practices, as we have repeatedly seen, is mainly contained in the Purāṇic literature, in particular the *Sāmba-* and *Bhavisya-purāṇas*. Generally, my interlocutors stated that Purāṇas are the texts in which the history of their community is narrated, and their content is reliable; they all accepted their authority except for one interviewee, who affirmed that the Vedas are the only source, because the Purāṇas are late texts, and for this reason, they are not reliable.<sup>812</sup>

<sup>811</sup> Skr: *ta eva viparītāḥ tu teṣāṁ vedāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / vedo viśvavadaś caiva vidud aṅgirasaś tathā //*

<sup>812</sup> INT. 4, 7.20: ‘[...] Purāṇas are ... about the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas. But ... I do not like the Purāṇas’ literature, I do not. Because the Purāṇas are written in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.’ This is not completely true; not all the Purāṇas are so recent, but he tried to discredit them. Even if some of them can be judged almost modern works, because they are very recent, the central core of some Purāṇic literature can be dated back to the fourth to fifth century A.D.; citing the Vedas, which were revealed thousands of years B.C., probably confers more prestige.

Beside the Vedas and the Purāṇas, the epics also serve as works of reference; the *Mahābhārata* was frequently quoted during the interviews. During the seventh interview, my learned interlocutor, Professor of English at the University of Patna, mentioned the references to the classes of Śākadvīpa in book 6 of the *Mahābhārata* (15.51); he said that the number of the *puras*, which we will discuss later, is 72, like the 72 Brāhmaṇas in the *Mahābhārata* (10.27). Then, in Bīkāner my interviewees told me the story of Barbarika, the grandson of Bhīma, a very peculiar character in the *Mahābhārata*, who had a power that can be compared to the efficacy of Āyurvedic treatments (cf. INT. 5, especially 39.05). Therefore, *Mahābhārata* is also a focal text for Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, and they are even mentioned in it. The *Sāmvavijaya* also associates their history with the vicissitudes of the epic's heroes, and they were present at the battle fought by Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna against the king of Magadha (cf. paragraph 3. 2. 1).

During the interviews, nobody mentioned the *Rāmāyana*, but during lunch at my hosts' parents' house in Bīkāner, they showed me their domestic altar and gave me a small book in which was contained, according to them, their most important prayer, the *ādityahṛdayastotram*. This *stotra* is part of the *Yuddha Kānda* (105) of the *Rāmāyana*, and it is pronounced by the sage Agatsya when Rāma's battle against Rāvaṇa is about to begin. In the *Sāmvavijaya*, the Magas are invited to Ayodhyā to celebrate Rāma's *aśvamedha*.

Therefore, the central texts of Hinduism are indeed the fundamental texts of the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, since they are actually Hindūs. Moreover, they have tried to connect their own history with the great heroes of the epics, and even to the Vedic texts, in order to be fully legitimized.

### 5.1.6 Nature, Āyurveda and Food

The Śākadvīpiyas [...] have always been interested in natural sciences. The sun god is the only visible god. You can see him' (INT. 2, 0.06); [...] even if people do not worship him, he stays still' (INT. 6, first interlocutor). This is a central point in the Śākadvīpiya cult: they worship the sun for its visibility. In the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (2, 19), it is defined as *pratyakṣa-*. His seven horses are considered the seven colours of the rainbow.<sup>813</sup> Therefore, nature and the biology are very important to their cult. Traditionally, it seems that the Magadhan area, also called Greater

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<sup>813</sup> 'Do you know why Lord sun has seven horses? They are the colours of the rainbow. You see? Once again a natural reason for a religious matter' (INT. 5, n. r.).

Magadha (cf. BRONKHORST 2007), had another style of natural observation and medicinal practices, different from the Vedic ones. Strabo, in his *Geography* (15. 1. 70), states that in this area the Brāhmaṇas (Brachmanes) used to practice natural philosophy and astrology.<sup>814</sup> Āyurvedic medicine was probably founded in the Magadhan environment, enriched by non-Brāhmaṇical cults. This parallel non-Vedic tradition of healing placed emphasis on the direct observation of phenomena; in particular, it is the disequilibrium of the bodily elements that produces disease.<sup>815</sup>

Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas have always had a particular interest in Āyurvedic treatments and in the knowledge of natural medicine. For example, in Rājasthān they are not only strict vegetarians, but they also avoid foods like garlic and onions, categorized as *tamasic* food. On the other hand, they use many plants for cooking. Particularly beloved is the *tulsi/tulasī* plant, the holy basil (*Ocimum tenuiflorum*), which is generally held most sacred by the Hindūs, especially Viṣṇu worshippers. In fact, it is believed that this plant consists in the hair of the goddess Lakṣmī, one of Viṣṇu's wives, who was reborn as Tulasī, daughter of king Dharmadhvaja.<sup>816</sup>

This Śākadvīpīya interest in medicine has its roots, according to my interlocutors' opinion, in the Purāṇic texts: the sun healed Sāmba from leprosy, and they followed his example. In the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (11, 46), the Aśvins are qualified as physicians. Samjñā, having the form of a mare, was in the forest; the sun god, as a horse, approached her, but she refused him, probably because she had not recognized her husband. Then 'she vomited the semen of Vivasvat from her nostrils. In this way the two Aśvins, the great physicians, were born.'<sup>817</sup> According to the legend, Āyurveda was created by Svayambhū, 'l'Être existant par lui-même'<sup>818</sup>, i. e. Brahman. Since men were not able to understand it in that form, Svayambū recomposed it and taught it to Prajāpati, who, in turn, transmitted it to the Aśvins.<sup>819</sup> Therefore, in the sun's family, this curative ability is a common trait. The Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas being part of the sun themselves (we will discuss this point later), they share this interest in healing diseases.

One interviewee (INT. 5, 9.07) told me, 'Our ancestors were doctors and we learned how to make medicines with the use of some leaves. And before one thousand year we can say that all

<sup>814</sup> See BRONKHORST 2007: 57.

<sup>815</sup> *Ivi*: 59 f.

<sup>816</sup><sup>817</sup> The *Devī-Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, *skanda* 9, narrates the myth of Tulsī (cf. VETTAMMĀNI 1978: 797 F.).

<sup>817</sup> Skr. (SP 11, 46): *sā tadvivasvataḥ śukram nāśikābhyaṁ nirāvamat / devau tasyāmajāyetām aśvinau bhiṣajām̄ varau //*

<sup>818</sup> FILLIOZAT 1975: 2.

<sup>819</sup> Then the Aśvins taught the Āyurveda to Indra, who himself taught it to Dhanvantari in the form of Divodāsa, king of Kāśi (*ibid.*).

community members, all community population was spread all over India, then they are not doing really anything, they have fallen down all these things, and Āyurvedic doctors are limited nowadays. One or two know these things. But our ancestors were perfect doctors, Āyurved doctors.' In the *Magavyakti* (II, 13) too, we find mention of their ancient skills:

*āyurvedamahāstrabhagnanikhilakleśoccayāś samtataṁ*

*rejuś te ḍumarauravaṁśaja-magā yeśāṁ yaśobdhīn yayau //*

'The Magas born in the family Dumaraura, with the multitude of pains completely defeated with the powerful bow of Āyurveda, are continuously resplendent, and their fame rises.'

The power of Āyurvedic treatments, according to my fifth interviewees, had been described already in the *Mahābhārata*, with the character Barbarika.<sup>820</sup> He was the grandson of Bhīma and Hidimbā, and received his education partly from his grandmother, who was born *rakṣas*, and partly from a Śākadvīpiya teacher, Nija Sid Singh. He acquired the power to target, to destroy and, if he wants, to regenerate<sup>821</sup>; this is clearly the most powerful weapon on the battlefield of the *Mahābhārata* and, in this way, one single man can easily exterminate his enemies. Kṛṣṇa asks him for a demonstration of his powers, in which Barbarika uses the leaves of the *pīpal* tree. This procedure, in three steps, is associated with Āyurvedic treatments (INT. 5, 41.30): 'Now, Āyurvedic persons prepare their medicines with such kind of things. [...] But first part of the treatment is target only the ill part, like the leaves of the *pīpal* tree. Then destroy only this and if anyhow there is destroy of the regular cells, the third part must be regenerating. Then we have complete treatment. Such kind of treatment comes from the ancient system. [...]'

Śākadvīpiyas are very interested in natural science, and this is the reason why they have always been considered good doctors.<sup>822</sup> Even nowadays, in Bihār, many Śākadvīpiyas still enter the medical profession.

Finally, Prof. K. Bhojak, in Bīkāner, provided me with a list of famous Āyurvedic doctors who were Śākadvīpiyas.<sup>823</sup> They were all active in the nineteenth century, or at least before 1950:

- Dr. Atma Ram Sharma: He worked in Jaipur, and had a medical laboratory at the court of Jaipur, because he worked for the king. He was learned in Āyurveda.
- Paṇḍit J.T. Bhojak: He was an astrologist and also prepared some medicines with gold and silver.

<sup>820</sup> For the complete story of Barbarika see INT. 5 (my interlocutor's version) or VETTAMMĀNI 1978: 107 f.

<sup>821</sup> 'He had three weapons: one was for targeting, other one for destroying, and third weapon was for regeneration [...] ' (INT. 5, 39.05).

<sup>822</sup> Cf. also INT. 7, 14.51 and INT. 8, 4.31.

<sup>823</sup> I took notes while Prof. Bhojak was speaking. He provided me with this list on 5 November 2016.

- Śrī Gaṅganagar: He was from Bīkāner. He was learned in astrological medicine and in the preparation of *shanka*<sup>824</sup>.
- Pañdit Bhram Bhat Sharma: He was in Delhi, in Kamla Nagar; he was a priest, a preacher and a teacher. He gave also medicine to people.
- Dr. Rameshwar Sharma: He worked in Bīkāner and in Jodhpur.

### 5.1.7 Ritual Practices and Festivities

The most important religious activity for a Śākadvīpiya is the *pūjā* honouring the sun god. According to one of my interlocutors (INT. 3, 0.54), they perform the *havana pūjā*, which is the offering in the fire.<sup>825</sup> In any case, they have to pray the sun god with *mantras* twice a day, at dawn and at sunset, the two turning points (INT. 5, n. r.). We find an indication of the importance of these two moments of the day also in the *Sāmba-* (15) and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* (I. 123). I had the opportunity to attend a sunset *pūjā*, in which the Śākadvīpiya community of Bīkāner gathered to light seven sticks of incense, like the seven horses, for worshipping the sun's statue; then they offered water. The offering of water is the main ritual action, and that is the reason why water is so important to the Śākadvīpiyas. They also have to look at the sun in the early morning because it is very good for the eyes (cf. INT. 5, n. r.). I was also informed that 'it is scientifically proved, that looking at Lord sun for three to four minutes is good for health. When the sun rises, we can look straight to it. We also teach our children to look at it. Then, during the day, you can look at it with your hands like this ... Crossed fingers. This is very important for health, very good for eyes' (INT. 3, 4.01). Once again, the biological/healing aspect is present here, and the visibility of the sun is a health matter.

These daily cultural practices reach their apex during the two Hindū festivities in honour of the sun god. One of these is Sūrya (or Ratha) Saptamī, seven days in the bright half of the month of Māgha (around the beginning of February), during which the birth of the sun god is celebrated and the sun statue is adorned and carried around the city in procession (cf. INT. 3, 0.54). The fast in honour of the sun, called Ratha Saptamī Vrata is described in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (I. 50). In the *Varāha-purāṇa* (177, 59–60) it is stated: '59. He [Sāmba] arranged there (the festival of) Rathayātrā suggested by the sun. 60. On the Saptamī day in the month Māgha

<sup>824</sup> According to my knowledge, it is an Āyurvedic medicine prepared with conch shells.

<sup>825</sup> Generally *havana* is the offering in fire. In Vedic times, it was the first sacrifice of the day, which let the sun rise. Cf. chapter 39 of the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (SRIVASTAVA 2013: 129).

people conduct Rathayātrā there [...]’ (IYER 1985: 530). For the Rājasthāni Śākadvīpīyas, Sūrya Saptamī is definitely the most important festivity of the year. People gather in the main temples to observe the sunrise. On the contrary, in Bihār the most important festivity is Chhath, celebrated on the sixth day of the month of Kārtik (end of October/beginning of November). This festivity, which generally lasts four days, consists of fasting and praying of the sun; people generally gather for the morning *pūjā* near ponds or other bodies of water. My host family in Patna told me that it is the most important event of the year. Beside the ritual practices, they also have a big party while waiting for the sunrise, adding a festive dimension to the religious ceremony. In Bīkāner I was informed that they do not celebrate Chhath, which is celebrated in Bihār and is the only occasion on which women can look straight at the sun, even in the morning. This piece of information was not confirmed by the Bihāri Śākadvīpīyas I met.

Finally, they told me about their most relevant cultic centres. Koṇārak (Koṇārka) used to be very important in ancient times, but according to my fifth interlocutor, it is not relevant nowadays because it is no longer active (INT. 5, 16.55). On the contrary, my hosts in Patna spoke enthusiastically about Koṇārak: I was informed that there is no sun idol in the temple there, but that when the sun rises, passing along the temple’s structure, the ray of sunlight illuminates the idol’s place. My interlocutor told me that admiring this phenomenon was one of the best experiences of her life.

### 5.1.8 Waters

We have already mentioned the fact that waters are particularly meaningful for Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. Water offerings are the core of their ritual practices, both in everyday life and especially during religious festivities. For this reason, particularly near Śākadvīpīya temples, we can always find a pond. Some Śākadvīpīya families also have their private basin; my hosts in Patna had their own on the top of their building, and use it for celebrating Chhath.

Waters, ponds, rivers and even the ocean are mentioned frequently in the Purāṇas; in *Sāmba-* 26 / *Bhaviṣya-* I. 129, we find the story of the idol of the sun found in the *Candrabhāgā* river by *Sāmba*.<sup>826</sup> Waters are important also because they reflect the sun, which takes its terrestrial form in this way. I think there is a strong double symbology in *Sāmba-purāṇa* 43, when the sun’s statue is found by the Manus: when the sun rises over the ocean, it is possible

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<sup>826</sup> The episode is repeated in *Sāmba-purāṇa* 43, but the Manus find the sun’s idol in the ocean.

to see his double form, one in the sky, the other in the water; at that very moment, the sun's idol emerges from the waters. In this sense, through the presence of water, we can see a solar image on Earth, i.e. the reflection of the sun, every day.

The god Mitra, who has become one form of the sun in Purāṇic literature, is often mentioned in relation to waters.<sup>827</sup> The *nāgas*, who are very prominent in association with the sun cult and the Śākadvīpīya repertoire of legends, are also strongly connected with water.

### 5.1.9 Differences from Other Sun Worshippers and Among the Śākadvīpīya Sub-Groups

‘Śākdvīpīyas were *pandits* of every cult, but after Sāmba brought them to India for worshipping the sun god, they specialized in the sun cult. They spread sun cult all over India, they brought the sun cult to India’ (INT. 3, 1.14). The Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas have been considered *the* sun worshippers *par excellence* since the ancient texts were composed. The Purāṇas present them as the only Brāhmaṇas able to properly worship the sun god. According to Varāhamihira, they are the group in charge of the sun’s idol installation and care (cf. paragraph 2.3). They are clearly endowed with a special qualification in matters of sun worshipping. In my second interlocutor’s opinion, their superior qualification lies in the fact that Śākadvīpīyas were part of the sun themselves: ‘[...] The sun generated the Śākdvīpīyas from his own body. The descendants are the other sun worshippers’ (INT. 2, 5.53). This piece of information clearly echoes the Purāṇic material (cf. *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I, 117) and the story contained in the *Sāmvavijaya* (twelfth *ādhyāya*). Their consideration may also derive from the fact that ‘Śākdvīpīyas brought to India sun cult. They were the first to build in India Sūrya *mandirs*; then they left and other worshippers took their place. Other priests do the worshipping part. The *mantras* are the same and they do *pūjā* in the same way. They serve water to the sun’ (INT. 3, 3.32). According to others, ‘Śākaldvīpis are not part of Sūrya family, but they are experts in Sūrya *pūjā*’ (INT. 8, 4.31). Their priests seem to have specialized in matters of worship over the centuries, and for this reason, ‘[...] in ancient times the king had only Śākaldvīpis around him, no other *purohita*’ (INT. 8, 4.40). I do not think that these differences form part of the regional dissimilarities that characterize the communities in Rājasthān and

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<sup>827</sup> For some references on this topic, see for example THIEME 1957/1995.

Bihār, which are probably rather due to the geographical environment. Their different opinions are based probably on the different materials they have read about their past and mythology.

Another peculiarity of Śākadvīpīya priests is that they cannot accept any reward for their religious actions. My interlocutor for the fifth interview explained that they live to worship the gods, and they do not accept any money for their ‘job’ (INT. 5, 6.00, n. r.). This feature was also noted during the seventh interview: ‘Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas think that you cannot accept not even a drop of water when, for example, one helps you’ (INT. 7, 12.07; repeated in 12.26 and 15.51). This is a very important feature, which recalls the theme of Śākadvīpīyas having been vindicated as *devalakas*; the issue of owning property, as discussed above, probably had a social resonance, and generated the accusation of their being corrupt and not deserving Brāhmaṇical status. The contemporary Śākadvīpīyas’ statements seem to have an apologetic value; their priests do not accept even a drop of water and are a model of integrity and religious behaviour.

Among the various Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇa communities settled all over India, some minor differences subsist even nowadays among the members of each sub-group, created on the basis of what today are the various surnames. Actually, there is no difference in terms of being one of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas; they told me they are all the same in terms of membership. Nonetheless, every surname has its own story, and some of them possess characteristic features. ‘They have different names according to their function in ancient times. (2.24) [...] They were called Bhojaks because they feed the Lord sun. And Sevaks, they only put on the clothes’ (INT. 3, 2.31). Therefore, some of them are typical surnames, or shared with other Brāhmaṇas (cf. for example Sharma, widely diffused in the Brāhmaṇical caste), while others are linked to the ancient texts: above all, Mag and Bhojak are very peculiar and directly connected to the Purāṇic environment. In one of my interlocutors’ opinion, ‘Mag’ is equivalent to ‘Brāhmaṇa’: “‘Mag’ means “Brāhmaṇa”; so you can say “Śākadvīpīya Mag” or “Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇa”. It’s the same” (INT. 3, 2.05). The name ‘Bhojak’ can be also connected with king Bhoja, and this etymology is already proposed in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (I. 140, 35a). My interlocutor, a Bhojak herself, told me their name is related to ‘the great king Bhoja’ (INT. 5, n. r.). Moreover, she informed me that, among the Śākadvīpīyas, the Bhojaks must follow 25 rules specific to their sub-group (INT. 5, n. r.). I wanted to know more about this topic; she promised she would send me more information, but I have not received anything as yet.

The same person also explained to me the meaning of ‘Sevak’: ‘Also Sevaks have their own story. In Jaina temples, only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner, there were no priests; so Śākadvīpīya priests, who are specialized in worshipping, all over the world, went there and did the pūjā.

From that moment on, they were called Sevak, because they served the god at the temple.<sup>828</sup> But this surname could sound derogatory, like servants, so people preferred not to adopt this name' (INT. 5, n. r.). The etymology of the name is clear: in Sankrit *sevaka-* means "servant, attendant" (MW: 1247, II), from the root *sev-*, "to serve" (MW: 1247, I). According to PANDE (\*: 34–36), those people used take care of crops and practise agriculture in medieval feudal society; for this reason, they were called 'servants'. Moreover, in Jaisalmer, around the thirteenth century, the sizable Bhojaka community there was linked to the Jaina temples; the confusion between 'Bhojaks' and 'Sevaks' arose especially after 20 November 1931, when the Mārvār government decided to change the surname 'Sevak', which they considered derogatory, to 'Śākdvīpīya Bhojak'. Nowadays, Bhojakas are sometimes associated with Jainas for this reason.

Some surnames are connected with the Vedic Ṛṣis and sages, like 'Maharshi' or 'Vyās'; others are also attested in the past, like Miśra (cf. Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra or Rājavallabha Miśra). In any case, no real distinction is made between the different groups of Śākadvīpīyas. They rely on the system of *puras* and *gotras* only in their marriage policies.

### 5.1.10 *Puras* and *Gotras*

We have already discussed the similarities between the names listed in the *Magavyakti* and the contemporary list of *puras*. To better understand the dynamics of this system, I have asked my interviewees for more information about it. The rule for marriage, which is strictly endogamous, is that the couple cannot belong to the same *gotra*. There is no other reason, neither surnames (my hosts in Bīkāner were both 'Bhojak', but did not belong to the same *gotra*) nor regional origins (in INT. 1, 1.25 my interlocutor declared '[...] I would not have any problem in letting my daughter marry a men from Śākdvīpīya community in Bihār'). Generally, it is the bride who changes her *gotra* and becomes part of the husband's (cf. INT. 3, 17.23 and INT. 5, n. r.). The *gotras* are related to the *gurus*, and in Śākdvīpīya tradition, there are sixteen of them. The *puras*, on the other hand, are connected with cities (cf. INT. 6, second interlocutor), and defined as 'branches of the tree', '[...] subdivisions of our community' (INT. 5, n. r.). In general, they are traditionally 72 in number (cf. INT. 7, 10.27; INT. 8, 1.38), but in one case there was a mention of 16 *puras*, linked to the legend of the 16 Śākdvīpīya boys who came to

<sup>828</sup> Cf. also INT. 4, 24.06: सेवक ब्रह्मण है, ईश्वर की सेवा ।

India holding Garuḍa's body (cf. INT. 6, first interlocutor). In my opinion, based on looking at websites and the latest magazine publications, the systems of *gotras* and *puras* have intermingled and influenced each other. As the utility of this system derives from its preservation of the non-incestuous exogamy practiced by these communities, the complete list of *gotras* and *puras* is no longer useful once it is verified that the two potential spouses belong to different groups.

### 5.1.11 Education and Professions

Based on their skills and specializations, the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas are traditionally associated with certain professions. Nonetheless, these differ somewhat based on the precise the geographical area and environment.

Being Brāhmaṇas, they should be involved in literary matters (cf. INT. 1, 0.39), but in Rājasthān some of them are involved in business or work for the government. In this region, they used to be very good doctors and learned men, but nowadays the great majority of them are priests who take care of the temple and the gods' statues. In Bīkāner, almost every temple priest is a Śākdvīpīya, but there is only one university professor in the community (namely one of my interlocutors, professor of chemistry at Dungar College). In my interviewee's opinion, the problem lies in education: whereas Śākdvīpīya people in Bihār are still well educated, in Rājasthān the lack of education has led them to the vocation of temple priests (INT. 5, 4.31). In any case, they have preserved their inclination towards astrology: even nowadays, they are very good astrologers (INT. 5, 6.10; INT. 8, 4.31). In Bihār, the situation appears to be different: many Śākdvīpīyas are indeed involved in education (generally as university professors), but they are especially prominent in the medical profession. In fact, almost all the members of my host family in Patna were doctors, both men and women. They also told me that some of their ancestors were astrologers, and the grandfather of the middle-aged sisters, in particular, had a reputation in Patna for being able to foretell the future with striking precision.

### 5.1.12 Iranian Elements

One of the most satisfactory parts of the interviews consisted in the spontaneous reference to Iranian (or perhaps indeed Zoroastrians) influences by my interviewees. In particular, they told me that ‘[...] Zoroastrians are considered to be part of the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs. They worship fire, no? The other visible god, like sun. You know Pārsīs? They are Zoroastrians. I read they are Śākdvīpīyas, too. Also the two gods, sun and fire, are close’ (INT. 2, 2.48). I tried to ask him about any textual evidence for this identification, but he did not reply. In any case, this claim is based on logical associations: since the two gods, sun and fire, who are the only two visible gods, are very close and sometimes even identified with each other, the Fire worshippers (i.e., the Zoroastrians) must be part of the Śākdvīpīyas. Another interviewee told me ‘also Jarathuṣtra came from Śākdvīpīya community’ (INT. 3, 1.14); I asked about the source of this information, and he replied that according to Nathamal PĀNDE\*, Jarathuṣtra belonged to the community. Actually, I was not able to find this information in the works of that they gave me. The spelling of the name of Zaraθuṣtra in their version is almost identical to the original. In the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (I. 129, 43), we find the figure of Jaraśastra (also spelled ‘Jataśastra’ and ‘Jaraśabda’), son of Agni, the god of fire, and the goddess Nikṣubhā. Jaraśastra is presented as the progenitor of the Mihira race; the name clearly recalls that of Zaraθuṣtra.<sup>829</sup> The contemporary Śākdvīpīya version adheres to the original, but given that the -z- is not preserved in Indian languages, they render it as -j-; the fricative -θ- becomes the retroflex -ʂ-. The attempt to link the two traditions is clear.

On the contrary, a very peculiar feature, attributable to the Iranian world, was described with precision, but not linked to Iranian origins. One of my interlocutors in Bīkāner casually mentioned the *avyaṅga*. I have previously discussed the importance of this sacred girdle, an icon of the Śākdvīpīyas (Magas and Bhojakas) in ancient times (cf. Purāṇic literature and paragraph 2.7). Showing me the sacred Brāhmaṇical cordon of a priest (cf. 5.2), my host told me that Śākdvīpīyas should also wear another girdle, a feature that characterizes their community: ‘[...] *avyaṅga* is found only in the Śākdvīpīya community. (2.00) What is the difference between *avyaṅga* and *yajñobhogi*<sup>830</sup>? *Avyaṅga* now is the point that now scientifically as well as biologically the kid brings as develops. This is why *avyaṅg-saṃskār* has a fixed date. It is the eighth year of the child. *Avyaṅga* is always done in the eighth year. Once

<sup>829</sup> Cf. also PALLADINO 20??b.

<sup>830</sup> Brāhmaṇical common sacrificial cordon, worn on the right shoulder.

you have completed the eight year, the *avyaṅga* is done, but this was only in the ancient times. Now very few people are worried about that, even the Śākdvīpīyas today are not worried about that. So they are not going for that. And secondly, *avyaṅga* is a hidden *saṃskār*; you are really not going for the party, or for that, but the *yajñobhogi* you use party, you celebrate it. But *avyaṅga* is only between the kid and the sun. (3:17) The kid and the sun, only that two celebrate. And thirdly is that *avyaṅga*, when we get ten ... around their waist, when they are ten around their waist. Then the *yajñobhogi* will be ... around ... [he points to his shoulder] [...]’ (INT. 5, *Addendum on the Avyaṅga*). This biological and ritual step in the child’s life exhibits some interesting features: first, the name *avyaṅga* refers both to the girdle and to the ceremony during which the girdle is conferred. Moreover, the sun god bestows the qualification of wearing this peculiar ritual object in a private ceremony; this denotes an intimate relation between the sun god and his favourite Brāhmaṇas, the Śākdvīpīyas. Finally, the manner of wearing it, namely around the waist, is the same as that described in the Purāṇas and shown in the iconography of the sun in the fifth to sixth centuries. I asked my interlocutor if he knew where this ceremony came from; I told him that, in the *Avesta*, a ritual object with a very similar name is mentioned, which then I spelled in Avestan. My impression is that Śākdvīpīya people do not have any information about Iranian customs and religious practices, but they claim to have Iranian origins just for the sake of defining their own identity or in an attempt to justify their peculiar features. In any case, this is an astonishing example of the continuation of a tradition from ancient times. The Purāṇic texts mention and describe it, and some members of the contemporary communities still celebrate it, even if fewer Śākdvīpīyas people are aware of this tradition nowadays.

I also tried to ask directly about other peculiar ritual actions and objects described in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, like the *patidāna* or the *varṣman* (probably linked to Av. *paiti.dāna* and *barəsman*), but I received no feedback, which suggested that the ritual objects described in the Purāṇic texts are generally unknown. INT. 3: (15.06) ‘Do you have any other practice? I mean, ritual practices ... For example, in ancient times, did the priests cover their mouths while reciting or did they hold something in their hands?’ (15.21) ‘No, they didn’t. According to my knowledge, only Jains cover their mouths in India.’

### 5.1.13 Notable Figures

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss some notable figures from the Śākdvīpīya community who are held in great esteem by contemporary members.

Among the historical figures, Cāṇakya, the administrator, poet, and charismatic figure, was a Śākdvīpīya according to my interlocutors (INT. 1, 15.41; INT. 2, 3.56; INT. 3, 11.51). Varāhamihira, the famous astrologer and astronomer, belonged to the community as well (cf. INT. 1, 15.41; INT. 2, 4.07; INT. 3, 11.51; INT. 5, 10.11). According to one of my interviewees, even the great mathematician Āryabhaṭa was a Śākdvīpīya (INT. 2, 3.38).

These are the well-known personalities of the past. In Udaipur, my hosts informed me<sup>831</sup> of other persons who have been very important to their community; some of them are mythological, others are historical figures. (INT. 3: 5.02): ‘Here is written the story of Parthdhwan (?). He was a Śākdvīpīya. There was a time in which people wanted to go and live in *Sūrya-loka*. Parthdhwan longed to enter Lord Sūrya’s world, too. For this reason, he practiced austerities for 300 years. The sun, satisfied with his worship, closed his eyes and suddenly seven Brahmins came out, who could perform perfectly. Each one had two daughters and two sons. [...] Then, Sūryadvij. [...] (7.27) Then there was Viśvamitr, who went to Australia and started the community over there. [...] (11.51) You asked about the personalities ... Here they are written. There was Mahāṛṣi Vasiṭ, who was son of Lord sun. Then Cāṇakya, Varhāhamihir, Mahākāvi Magh, Mahākāvi Vrand, Mongol Paṇḍi ... Do you know him? He was a freedom fighter. He was part of the army but he decided to rebel to the fact that they used pigs and cows grass for the guns. After having left the army, he became a freedom fighter. And then Maharaja Sindh Badhur.’ Apparently, all these figures were involved in political activism, intellectual life and royal power. They informed me that even nowadays the ruler of Ayodhyā is a Śākdvīpīya (INT. 3, 0.23). Therefore, the glory of the Śākdvīpīyas, asserted in various disciplines since the Magavyakti, is still present in the form of some contemporary personalities, who are the pride of today’s communities. One example is the poet *Śīlavrata Sharma*, from Udaipur, affectionately called Śīlva jī (cf. INT. 3, 5.48 and paragraph 5.3).

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<sup>831</sup> They relied on PĀNDE\*’s material.

## 5.2 Visits

I travelled around Rājasthān from 20 October to 5 November. I visited the cities of Udaipur, Jodhpur and Bīkāner, meeting people from the local Śākadvīpīya communities who could help me find new information. I was welcomed in every house, and I am still very grateful to all the people I had the opportunity to meet during my stay. Moreover, in Bīkāner I had the opportunity to get acquainted with the Śākadvīpīya community for three entire days. Dr. B. Bhojak and her husband took me to visit many temples and introduced me to many Śākadvīpīya priests. As she said (INT. 5, 3.35), in Bīkāner there is a huge concentration of Śākadvīpīya people; in the neighbourhood of Kasauṭī Nath Śiv Mandir, a temple once visited by Emperor Humayun<sup>832</sup>, the 70% of the population is composed of Śākadvīpīyas, and 90% of them are priests. They all have a very good knowledge of astrology, and some of them are even professional astrologers.

On 4 and 5 November 2016 they took me to visit some temples. There are 51 temples in Bīkāner, most of them managed by Śākadvīpīya priests. They are not only sun temples, but also Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples. Śākadvīpīya priests are considered the best in matters of worship, and in Bīkāner they are particularly famous for their care of the *mandirs* and their *pūjā*.

First, they took me to visit Devi Kunḍ cemetery, where all the Rājputs and queens of Bīkāner have been buried. Formerly, it was the property of Śākadvīpīya community. Śākadvīpīya priests used to be a constant presence at the court of Bīkāner's rulers. When we went to visit the *mandir* nearby, my hosts showed me the Nandi Kunḍ Sagar, a pond near the temple, pointing out the fact that it had been built artificially by Śākadvīpīya community. In the *mandir*, dedicated to Śiva and Kalī, we met Mr. Sharma, a Śākadvīpīya priest; his family has taken care of this temple for 400 years. He showed me the *pūjā* and recited the *mantras* for Śiva.

The next day we visited Nanajī-Niśajī temple, dedicated to Mātājī. It is the most ancient temple in Bīkāner. There I had the opportunity to meet two other priests, Mr. Rajesh Sharma and Mr. Suraj Sharma, whose family has looked after the *mandir* for 500 years. They are Śākadvīpīyas. We also went to Lakhṣmī-Nathjī Mandir; it is a complex of temples, 15 of which belong to Śākadvīpīya priests. There is also a small temple of the sun, which is actually the oldest sun temple in Bīkāner.

In any case, the most interesting place they took me was Sūrya Mandir, a temple that the Śākadvīpīya community is building for Lord sun. It is in the 'Śākadvīpīya area' of the city and

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<sup>832</sup> Humayun (1508–1566) was the second Moghul emperor. He ruled over the present territories of North India, Pakistan and Afghanistan from 1531–1540 and again from 1555–1556.

many priests live nearby. Inside, there is a statue of the sun god with seven horses. On the top of the cupola stands the sun symbol with a moustache, which is the typical icon of the sun I found in Rājasthān. I asked Dr. B. Bhojak the reason why the sun is always represented with a moustache in Rājasthān, but she was not able to answer.



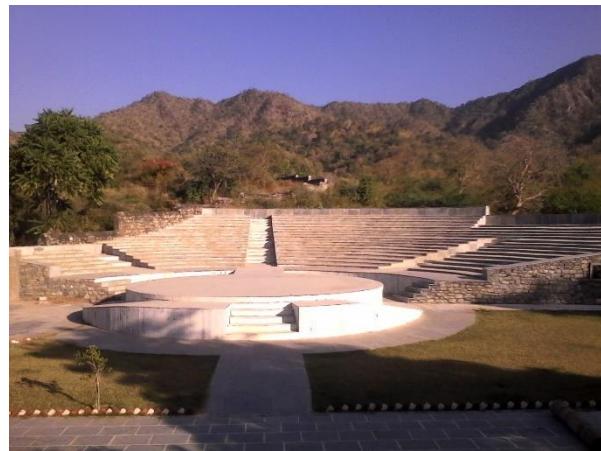
Sūrya Mandir in Bīkāner

On the way from Udaipur to Jodhpur, there is a very important sun temple for Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, the Sūrya Mandir in Rāṇakpur. This temple was first built in the thirteenth century and then, after its destruction, rebuilt in the fifteenth century. It is a masterpiece of sculpture and ornamentation. The central part is surrounded by a big *śikhara*; in front of the sun idol's abode, there is an octagonal *mandapa*, with carved pillars and sculpted *toranas* (arches). The exterior of the *mandir* is decorated with sculptures of the sun god, seated on his chariot with his seven rearing horses.



Sūrya mandir in Rāṇakpur

Showing me an article about this temple in the magazine *Brahmāṇḍ Cetnā*, my interlocutor said, ‘This is Sūrya Mandir, and the priest of this temple is also Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. This is temple, this is stadium; in festival time, people used to sit here and sun rose always from here’ (INT. 5, 13.09). In fact, in front of the *mandir*, there is a big stadium, which can accommodate many people during festivals.



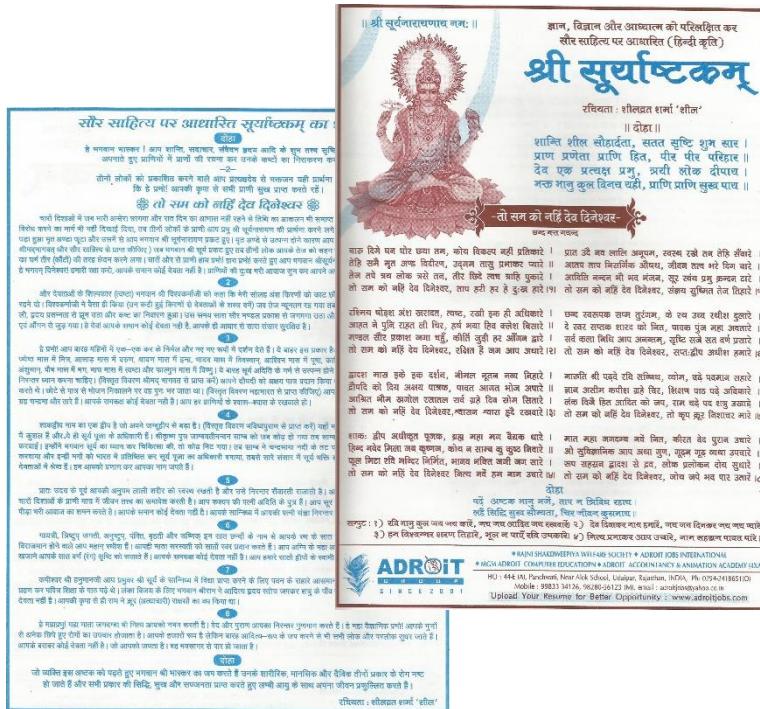
### 5.3 Literature

Today's Śākadvīpīya communities are very active and productive, at least those in Rājasthān and Bihār. Middle-aged people in particular are doing their best to keep their tradition alive. My hosts in Bīkāner have published the international magazine *Brahmāṇḍ Cetnā* since 2010, and Dr. Bharti Bhojak is especially active in editing the issues. She got her Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics and, being interested in astronomical calculation, she chanced upon Varāhamihira (cf. INT. 5, 13.09). From that moment on, she decided to cultivate the knowledge of the past and traditions of her community, and founded the magazine. It is a monthly magazine and its contents are varied; in each issue, there are some articles about the Śākadvīpīya tradition, as well as news and communications about the Bīkāneri community, wedding ads and obituaries. Some space is also given to letters, poems and messages. The content of the articles is varied, and ranges from recipes to the value of the Sanskrit language. For my purpose, it was useful to examine the topics of these articles to find out if they deal with some topics unknown to me. Based on the period of the year, they contain information about festivities and explain the history of some notable figures. I found articles on food items (allowed and not allowed), on plants, on the *nāgas*, on the Magas and the Sāmba legend, on Varāhamira, on astrology and the planets, on Bhojakas, on sun temples and *mantras*. Therefore, the topics were not new to me, even if they were obviously enriched with their own perspective; in particular, the papers on Varāhamihira and on historical matters have scientific value, and they are furnished with a bibliography. This magazine is primarily addressed to Śākadvīpīya people, with the purpose of teaching them about their own tradition and informing them of the news about the Bīkāneri community; however, being an international magazine, it has the aim of spreading Śākadvīpīya culture all over the world.

Other magazines are the *Magabandhu*, edited in Rāmcī (Jhārkhaṇḍa), where there is a high concentration of Śākadvīpīya people (cf. INT. 5, 3.35), and the *Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇ Bandhu*, edited in Bīkāner as well. I do not know of the existence of any Bihāri publications.



Finally, yet importantly, new Sanskrit works have been born in the Śākadvīpiya environment. The previously mentioned Śīlavratā Sharma, ‘Śīlva jī’, is the author of the poem *Śrī Sūryāṣṭakam*, a praise in honour of the sun god. The 85-year-old poet composed his work in Sanskrit, and provided a Hindī translation as well. Such examples are significant firstly in demonstrating that the Sanskrit lyric tradition is still alive, and secondly in highlighting the fact that Śākadvīpiyas are actually part of this living tradition.



To take stock of the results of this ethnographic experience, I would like to quote HERZFELD again: ‘[...] The circularity of this process [...] is the key to understanding history, not as a set of referential data, but as something that people use to buttress their identity against the corrosive flow of time’ (2001: 59). I think that this is the point of the Śākadvīpiyas’ reinterpretation of their past: they zealously try to preserve the peculiarities that lie in their history. They indeed want be part of Hinduism, but they have different characteristics than other Brāhmaṇas; they are justified by ancient texts, legitimized by later poems and have enduring Iranian elements in their cult. The continuation of their tradition is undeniable, and I think this preservation of their traditional features is mostly due to their endogamous marriages. They had the opportunity to transmit stories and ritual practices from one generation to the next, even if younger generations are no longer interested in them. According to one of my interlocutors, ‘Young people are not interested in these things. That’s why many people, also belonging to the community, they don’t know anything and their information are not correct’ (INT. 6, first interlocutor). He thinks that even middle-aged Śākadvīpiya people are not reliable when it comes to traditional matters. In

any case, it is the natural tendency of traditions to slowly modify and maybe be replaced with new ones, but the unusual feature, in this case, is that the traditions have been transmitted with accuracy, with references to different textual sources, and completely forgotten by the new generations. If this study had been carried out only 50 years ago, the details of the tradition would have been even better preserved, and each person would have been able to tell the past of their community. This is apparent from the stories my interlocutors told about their grandfathers' knowledge. Probably, in several generations, everything will be forgotten and they will simply become Hindū Brāhmaṇas; the mark of their peculiar past will be retained only in their name.

Another interesting fact is that the members' knowledge of their past depends on their level of education and not on the nature of their activities: the learned members of the communities in Rājasthān and Bihār actually know more about their tradition than the Rājasthāni priests, who are completely involved in religious matters, but have scant education. The only respect in which the priests seem to adhere to tradition is their interest in and knowledge of astrology. The divinatory art is generally the prerogative of the priests of ancient cults, but Śākdvīpīyas have specialized in this art, becoming the best in the field of astrology.

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss the differences between the communities in Rājasthān and Bihār. They have different habits based on their geographic location; obviously, the communities' traditional customs have merged with regional ones. For example, Brāhmaṇas should be strictly vegetarian: in Rājasthān, as mentioned previously, they also avoid *tamasic* food; in Bihār, they are not even vegetarian. The names change based on geography and the local languages. In Bīkāner, Rājasthān the majority of Śākdvīpīyas are priests without any education; in Bihār they are mostly doctors or professors. In this variegated scenario, different versions of their history and customs merge. After all, '[...] truth claims are filtered through differing interpretations of key cultural categories'<sup>833</sup>, and this can happen according to the regional origin of the speakers. My question: is it possible that these dissimilarities characterized the different textual traditions on their origins even in ancient times? I think this is also a good point of departure in rethinking our approach to their history. Our tendency is to try to find their unifying aspects and to collect the common data. Naturally, there are some prominent features, nowadays and in the past, which have characterized the Śākdvīpīya tradition and identity; these features emerge against a landscape of incongruous traits, which are as important as the shared ones. Moreover, the nature of Purāṇic literature, for example,

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<sup>833</sup> HERZFELD 2001: 67.

may have allowed much integration over the centuries, and even if the *Sāmba-* and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* are generally considered northern works, they may have absorbed different traits and textual traditions of the different northern areas. Therefore, when the narratives do not agree, it does not necessary mean that there have been some errors in the transmission of the data; moreover, this is valid for ancient times, too.



## Conclusion

This research has pointed out some new features of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. Even if it is not possible to trace a complete historical profile of this group, we have proof of their constant presence on Indian soil over the centuries. Despite the lack of concrete evidence before the second century A.D. (since we cannot put a date on when the mention of the Magas was inserted into the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*), and no real proof that the Śākadvīpīyas actually came from the Iranian world, they were and still are convinced that they possess peculiar Iranian features—to the extent that other sources, like the Buddhist ones, equate them with the Persians. In fact, beside their association with Iran, there is no other indication of close-kin relationships among the Magas in literature; for this reason, I think that this group, who pretended to come from Iranian lands, simply assimilated to the Persians who were in rule at that time, i.e. the Sasanians. In any case, this is very important for the affirmation and maintenance of the Śākadvīpīya tradition, i.e. that they have founded their identity on their Iranian peculiarities. We cannot establish whether the Iranian and Mazdean features mentioned and described in the *Purāṇas* came directly from Iranian culture, but they have certainly survived in the Śākadvīpīya tradition until the present day. The *avyaṅga*, which is probably their most distinctive element, has characterized various aspects of their tradition (iconographical, ritual, linguistic, mythological etc.), and let them maintain their unique identity, although they have assimilated perfectly to Hinduism.

They clearly consider themselves Hindūs, and they actually have almost no knowledge of Iranian religious and cultural practices, even though they claim to possess Iranian features and to come from Iranian lands. Furthermore, the contemporary communities define Zoroastrians as a sub-group of the Śākadvīpīyas, even though they have only superficial knowledge about the Zoroastrian cult (e.g., they know the name of Zarathuštra and that Zoroastrians worship fire).

Due to their avowed status as foreigners, and probably because of their ownership of land given to them by northern rulers, they have not been universally recognized as Brāhmaṇas. Obviously, they do not consider themselves different from other Brāhmaṇas in terms of their main ritual practices, sacred knowledge and Hindū habits, but they have based their identity on being outsiders. This is extraordinary, especially in the context of the Indian Brāhmaṇical social system, which is closed and rigidly linked to caste status.

Śākadvīpīyas are strictly endogamic and adhere to the *gotra* system for their marriage policies. They indeed follow the typical rules of the Brāhmanical class. In fact, even in the Purāṇic myth, it is stated that in Śākadvīpa, people were divided into four classes, which had never mixed together (cf. SP. 26, 31b/Bh. I. 139, 74b: [...] *na teṣāṁ saṃkaraḥ kaścid varṇāśramakṛtaḥ kvacit //*). Probably, this clarification was inserted into the text in order to legitimize the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas within Indian society. Especially in later poems, the attempts to bestow (even divine!) legitimacy on these Brāhmaṇas is evident. There could have been various reasons for this; in any case, we have a definite attestation of their presence in northern India. We do not know their precise historical and geographical coordinates, but we can presume that at a certain period, they were socially prominent and perhaps even influential at court, to the extent that they had to justify their presence in India. Furthermore, as stated previously, they were also believed to come from outside, probably from Iranian lands, exactly like the northern rulers of India in the first centuries A.D.: the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Hūṇas, and later the Persians themselves.

This is the answer to the first question I posed to myself at the beginning of my research on the Śākadvīpīyas: as a foreign cult, do they exhibit peculiar features, or have they been totally absorbed by Hinduism over the centuries? Both answers are actually correct. Even though they have completely integrated as Hindūs—and perhaps were even the protagonists of the Saura branch of Hinduism, at least so long as the sun cult survived independently in North India—they still maintain their uniqueness. Today they are still the main sun-worshippers in the northern regions, but they also specialize in the *pūjā* of other divinities (especially Śiva and Durgā). They have normalized their peculiarity, lending their distinctive features to the sun cult as well.

The second question addressed their origin: did they really come from outside India, perhaps from Iranian lands? Everything—from their calendar, explained by Varāhamihira, to the lexical elements contained in the Purāṇas—suggests that they had genuine connections with Iranian lands in the past. In any case, nowadays the Śākadvīpiyas, or at least the majority of them, are convinced that they have Iranian origins. Even if this is a case of invention of tradition, we may presume that the process had already taken place in ancient times, since this ‘invention’ dates back at least to the first centuries A.D. (taking into account that Ptolemy mentions the Magas—and that the name ‘Maga’ itself recalls Iranian roots—in the second century). We have discussed the fact that, even in later texts like the *Magavyakti*, even if there is no clear etymological connection with Old Iranian roots, there is still a strong connection with the modern Iranian world. Their origin, their sun worship and peculiar objects like the *avyaṅga* are

the core of their identity; in this sense, even if they are not historically accurate, they actually do represent their past.

My third question centered on the possibility of establishing the historical background of their alleged migration and their presence on Indian soil. We have already anticipated the complexity of reconstructing their history, especially because of the scarcity of sources. Moreover, we cannot be sure about the dating of the Purāṇic texts; even the late poems containing declarations of authorship are not completely reliable. We have very little information for establishing a historical context, and even the sources we have offer insufficient content for reconstructing the contemporary historical events. For this reason, if no new information or evidence emerges, I fear that we will never be able to obtain a complete historical profile of this community. Nevertheless, their continuous presence throughout the centuries is documented and undeniable. Perhaps it is more appropriate to talk about a history of Śākadvīpīya religious tradition and customs that have been preserved since ancient times. Unfortunately, new generations of Śākadvīpīyas are no longer interested in their customs, and they have no knowledge of their history; the risk is that, in fifty years, the only remnant of their tradition will be their names.

A general overview of the Śākadvīpīya cult and its history, including all the sources, may distract us from paying due attention to the details and context of each text. On the other hand, adopting a multi-faceted approach focused on details means risking an overarching purpose and cohesion—like the well-known Buddhist story of the blind men touching the elephant (*Sutta-piṭaka, Udana VI, 4, 66–69*), each of whom imagine the animal’s complete appearance based solely on the one part of his body they were touching. These opposing, but valid approaches can be reconciled if the research remains focused on the continuity of the elements of the Śākadvīpīya tradition. Working on all the sources that mention the Śākadvīpīyas, even if we cannot date them with precision, maintains the continuity and the traces of their presence over the centuries; moreover, the analysis of the details reinforce how the central elements of their cult and legendary migration have been transmitted up to the present day. Operating simultaneously on both a general and a specific level allows us to draw a complete picture of their customs, which—while it is perhaps not historically precise, even if we are able to roughly establish the historical context of the various sources—speaks to a long-term continuity.

The results of this research reveal a nuanced tradition, rich in diverse elements, from Mit(h)raic cult to traditional Hindū features intermingled with Iranian elements. Perhaps

because of these peculiarities, the fascinating Śākadvīpiya tradition has survived until the present; the hope is that, propelled by its unique features, it can last into the future.

## APPENDIX A

### List of Names and Ritual Objects in Nēryōsangh's Sanskrit Translation of the *Yasna* (based on SPIEGEL 1861)<sup>834</sup>

#### I

2: hormijdāt / 43: hormijdasya  
6: agnīm hormijdasya (12)  
9: nimantrayāmī saṃpūrṇayāmī // mihirām nivāsitāraṇyām sahasrakarṇam daśasahasralocanām uktanāmānam iajdam / kila nāma anayā dīnyā uktamāste // ānandām nirbhayatvām āsvādamca / sa iajdasya ye manuṣyā khādyasya svādam jānanti //  
17: jarathustrotimanāmnīmca punyātmanīm punyagurvīm 19: vijayamca hormijdadattām  
33: ye santi punyasya yat utkriṣṭataram hormijdena śiksāpitāh / jarathuśtrāya // jarathuśtrenaca proktāh / antar asmin jagati //  
34: hormijdena sṛṣṭāh //  
majdadattāh (39) / majdadattān (39, 41) / majdadattām (41, 43) / majdadattām (42)  
40: jarathustriyām  
65: prabrvīmi mājdaīsnīm jarathustrīyām vibhinnadevām hormijdasya nyāyavatīm /

#### II

baresmanām samīhe ijisnau (2) / prāṇām samam baresmanena samīhe ijisnau (4) // baresmanām samam prāṇena samīhe ijisnau (5) // enām prāṇām enāmca baresmanām samīhe ijisnau (6) // tam baresmanām enāmca prāṇām samīhe ijisnau (7) // samam prāṇena enām baresmanām samīhe ijisnau (8) // enām baresmām samam prāṇena samam aibiaṅghena puṇyena parigrathitām samīhe ijisnau (9) // anena prāṇena baresmanenaca svāminām mahājñāninām puṇyātmānam puṇyagurum samīhe ijisnau (10) //  
15: anena prāṇena baresmanenaca mihirām nivāsitāraṇyām sahasrakarṇam daśasahasralocanām uktanāmānam iajdam samihe ijisnau /  
anena prāṇena baresmanenaca... (16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62)  
majdadattāh (22, 49) / majdadattān (49, 54) / majdadattām (54, 57) / majdadattām (55, 56, 57)  
24: jarathustrotemanāmnīmca punyātmanīm punyagurvīm samīhe ijisnau  
25: hormijdadattām  
43: ...hormijdena... / jarathustrāya // jarathustrenaca proktāh /  
44: anena prāṇena baresmanenaca svāminām mihirām mahattaram anaśvaram puṇyātmānam samīhe ijisnau //  
45: tārāś(ca) candramca sūryamca // vanaspatīn ye upari baresmane mihirām sarvesām grāmāṇām rājānam samīhe ijisnau//  
52: jarathustrīyām  
59: hormijdam

#### III

1: baresmanena upari saṃnihitena samām prāṇena hauanasamādhyāyāḥ gurutayā / saṃmitena baresmadānopari //  
4: śrośa- ... (61: śrośasya)  
5: hūmaṇca prāhūmaṇca samīhe ijisnau (= in 62) / hūmaṇ prāhūmīyamityarthah //  
6: jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya (jarathuśstrasya / śpitama) (= 62)  
9: hūmaṇ samīhe ijisnau //

<sup>834</sup> I did not follow SPIEGEL's transcription; I adopted the IAST one.

10: apām [...] majdadattānām (14)  
11: udakām hūmīyam samīhe ijisnau //

15: enām baresmanām samām prāñena samām aivianghanena puñyena parigrahitām samīhe ijisnau //

68 – 70: prabrvīmi mājdaiasnīm / [...] yathā ahuramajdābjilāśah / [...] ahuramajdasya /

#### IV

2: enām hūmañca [...] // baresmanāmca [...] // hūmañca prāhūmañca / hūmām prāhūmiyamityarthah

4: śrośasyaca [...] (= 50) // agneśca hormijdasya

51: jarathustrasya aspatamaputrasya

56: [...] hormijdasyārthe // [...] hormijdo

#### V

6: [...] mitritamāste

#### VI

6: mihirām nivāsitārānyām sahasrakarṇām daśasahasralocanām uktanāmānam iajadām /

14: [...] majdadattām [...]

16: jarathustrotēmanāmnīmca [...]

17: hormijdadattañca

20: śrośām

21: rasnām śuddhañā ā // satyapatīm asya rasna iti nāmatā śuddhatāca satyatāca //

35: ...hormijdena [...] jarathustreñaca

36: svāminām mihirām mahattaram anaśvaram puñyātmānam ā // tārāśca candrañca sūryamca // vanaspatīn ye upari baresmane mihirām sarveśām grāmāṇām rājānam ā//

40: majdadattāh (x 2) / majdadattān (= 45)

43: nyāyām jarathustrīyām ā /

44: mājdaiasnīm

45: majdadattām (= 47)

46: majdadattām (x 2) (= 47)

49: hormijdamca

51: śrośām

52: hūmañca prāhūmañca ā // jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya [...]

#### VII

1: śrośasya (= 52)

2: puñyena dadāmi hūmañca prāhūmañca (= 53) / hūmām prāhūmīyamityarthah // sanmānakṛtyā jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya puñyātmakavṛiddheḥ (= 53) //

4: puñyena dadāmi hūmañ // majdadattānām (=7)

5: puñyena dadāmi apañ hūmīyāñ //

8: puñyena dadāmi enāmca baresmanām samām prāñena samām aivianghanena puñyena parigrahitām

58: hormijdasya

59: ahuramajda

68: hūmañca prāhūmañca ā //

#### VIII

1: hūmañca prāhūmañca samidhañca gandhañca //

3: hūmasyaca // [...] puñyātmānaśca jarathustrasya //

5: he dīne majdaīasni //  
 6: yaḥ tetṣu majdaīasneṣu majdaīasnīm brūte puṇyasamṛiddhyo jīvet /  
 9: ...majdaīasnebhyah...  
 10: ahuramajda  
 15: jarathustraḥ  
 16: ...ahurmijdīyā jarathustrīyā

## IX hūmastūmasya mūlam

(hūmasya ...)

1: [...] hūmaḥ upeyivān jarathustraḥ /  
 3: ...jarathustraḥ... / aho iastau na prāk babhūva puraḥprakaṭatvāt asau parijñātavān yat hūmo 'yam sameti yadica samāgato 'bhūt enām praṣṭum samīhata mithro zayāt zarathustrem tat parisphuṭameva yadyenām saṃmāryavān iti hetoh yat samayaḥ samām iajadaiḥ prabhūtairāsit tasya iajadāśca prakaṭatarā āsan iyaṁ prakṛitiśca komalābhūt asau abhīpsitavāt samām hūmena uccairbabhāṣe //  
 5: hūmo ... hūmena  
 6: ahaṁ asmi jarathustra hūmo muktimān dūramṛityuḥ //  
 7: spitama  
 9: tam abhāṣata jarathustro namo hūmāya //  
 10: hūma (21, 28, 40, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 78, 83, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103)  
 11: hūmo (22, 29, 41) 72: hūmaḥ (73)  
 27: ..ahurem mazdańm.. ..hormijdasya..  
 43: ..jarathustra..(44, 46) ..hormijdanyāyī..  
 48: tam abhāṣata jarathustro namo hūmāya //  
 49: uttamo hūmaḥ sudānam / [...] hūmaḥ satyadānah /  
 71: hūmasteśām [...]  
 74: hūmastābhyāscit [...]  
 75: hūmastāmścit [...]  
 80: hormijdaḥ  
 81: prakṛiṣṭam idam tubhyam hormijdo 'dāt prāktanām aivānghanatām tārāracitām paralokaghaṭitām uttamām dīniṁ mājdaīasnīm / asya aivānghanatvām idam yat yathā kustī samām manuṣyeṇa aikīkṛitā dīniśca evam samām hūmena aikīkṛitā asyāḥ aikīkṛitatvām idam yat yāvat hūmām na khādati dīnyā suniścito na bhavati hūmakhādanakāryām antarijisnau āste //

## X

2: śrośo  
 3: antarasmin grihe yat hormijdīyam yat hūmasya muktijananeḥ /  
 7: huma  
 8: hūma (= 10, 14 x 2, 23, 31-32, 38, 41, 56)  
 13: hūmaḥ (= 22)  
 16: hūmām (= 21)  
 19: hūmasya (= 20, 44)  
 25: prakṛiṣṭam te pratikaromi mitratvām stutikṛitīmca / kila te mitram bhavāmi staumica / yataḥ mitram stutikaram uttamām adadām ityabhāṣata svāmī mahājñānī yaṁ punyāt utkṛiṣṭatarām / kilāham dīniṿāhakasya śaktā bhavitum //  
 35: namo hūmaya (= 36)  
 43: hūmīyamca  
 44: hūmadrūṇam  
 52: tam abhāṣata jarathustro yat namo hūmāya majdadattāya uttamo hūmo majdadatto namo hūmāya / [...]

53: hūmān

Hūmām suvarṇābhām unnataṁ ā // hūmām phrāśmēm vṛiddhidam bhūsam̄bhūteḥ ā // hūmām dūramṛityum ā // viśvān hūmān ā // jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya iha puṇyātmano puṇyamca vṛiddhimca ā //

## XI

2: gauśca aśvaśca hūmaśca //

11: hūmaḥ (= 15)

16: hūma (= 20, 25, 26, 27)... ahurmajdaṁ

17: ahuramajdaḥ

20: ... hūmotsavaḥ

21: hūmo

23: tam abhāṣata jarathustro yat namo hūmāya uttamo hūmo majdadatto namo hūmāya (= 26)  
//

## XIII

1: [...] prabrvīmī mājdaīasnīm jarathustrīyām vibhinnadevām hormijdanyāyavaṭīm / [...]

3: hormijdasya

8: majdaiasnānām (= 12)

18: jarathustram

19 .. hormijdāt jarathustraḥ (= 21) /

20: jarathustro

22: ... majdaiasno (= 25) jarathustrīya.h .. jarathustraḥ /

24: jarathustrasya

25: mājdaiasnīm (= 27) jarathustrīyām prakāśayāmi /

28: ... hormijdīyā jarathustrīyā /

29: hormijdasya // ... mājdaiasnyā ...

## XIV

2: ... mājdaiaśnīm ...

4: mitram niveditatanum gurum bravīmi agnau svāmino mahājñāninaḥ / yo hormijdamitro tam gurum agnau bravīmi yataḥ tasya vapuṣti abhyāgato 'sti //

7: ... mājdaiasnyā ... (-ḥ: 9)

19: jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya [...]

... mājdaiasnyāḥ /

## XV

5: ... baresmanenaca ...

## XVI

3: ... uttamāyāḥ mājdaiasnyāḥ //

## XVII

1: ahuramajdaṁ punyātmakam punyagurum ā //

3: jarathustram punyātmakam punyagurum ā //

7: jarathustrasya punyāmano vṛiddhim ā //

8: jarathustrasya uktīm ā //

9: jarathustrasya dīnīm ā //

10: jarathustrasya abhilāṣaṁ nyāyamca ā //

21: ... majdadattāḥ ...

22: sūryam ...  
 27: mihiराम nivāsitāraṇyām ā / maitrīpatiṁ //  
 28: śrośām punyātmakām ā / ādeśapatī //  
 29: raśnām śuddhaṁ ā / satyapatī //  
 31: ... hormijdadattām ...  
 34: ...ahuramajdaṁ ...  
 35: mājdaiasnīm ...  
 46: ... devadattasya ...  
 54: ... ahuramajda //  
 63: ... hormijdasya ...  
 69: ... majdadattām ...  
 72: ... jarathustrotimānāmca //

### **XIX**

1: aprīcchat jarathustraḥ ahuramajdāt // ahuramajda... ahuramajdāt ... ahuramajdasthānam ... ahurmajdasya ...  
 2: kiṁcit vacaḥ āśīt ahuramajda // [...]  
 3: ... majdadattāyāḥ ...  
 4: tam abravīt ahuramajdāḥ // ... spitama jarathustra (= 6, 9, 12) [...]  
 20: ... sūryasya ...  
 23: ... hormijdāya / (x 2, = 35)  
 29: ... hormijdasya ... / ... hormijdamanāḥ ... //  
 31: yaḥ hormijdāya sujīvaniḥ / ... hormijdasya ... (= 34 x 2, 37)  
 34: ... hormijdāḥ ... (= 35, 38)  
 36: yathā mitram spitamāya pañcanyāyībhūtaḥ / kila pañcasu nyāyeṣu madhye bhūtaḥ //  
 44: etacca vaco majdoktaṁ /  
 50: ... jarathustraḥ ... (= 52)  
 51: ... jarathustrīyāt // ... jarathustrīye //

### **XX**

1: ... hormijdasya // (= 7)

### **XXI**

1: ... jarathustrasya ...  
 4: tam uvāca hormijdāḥ // [...]  
 8: ... hormijdāḥ ...

### **XXII**

1: baresmanena ...  
 2: imām hūmaṁ punyena uccairdattām / [...]  
 5: ... hūmamataḥ ...  
 6: apām uttamānām apaḥ hūmīyāḥ // [...]  
 8: ... baresmanīm ... // ...mājdaiasnyāḥ //  
 11: ... majdadattāḥ ...  
 12: ... śrośāsyaca ...  
 13–14: ...hūmām... // ...majdadattāḥ... / ...śrośadrūṇena... // imām hūmaṁ punyena uccairdattām /  
 23: ...majdadattāḥ... (= 31)  
 25: mihiराम nivāsitāraṇyāḥ / [...]  
 26: sūryo 'maraḥ tejasvī vegavadaśvah //

28: ...majdadattā... mājdaiasnī //  
 29: ...jarathustrīyam / ...mājdaiasnāmīm / [...]

#### XXIV

1: svāminam mahājñāninaṁ hūme abhimantrayāmi //  
 2: imam hūmamca miajdamca / bhojanadānam // [...] baresmanamca puṇyena parigrathitam //  
 [...]  
 5: ...hūmamataḥ ...  
 6: apāṁ uttamānāṁ apaśca hūmīyāḥ //  
 8: ...baresmanīm... uttamāyāḥ mājdaiasnīyāḥ //  
 10: [...] viśvāsca vibhūtīḥ majdadattāḥ puṇyāt prakaṭāḥ //  
 12: śrośasya puṇyātmanāḥ / [...] agneśca hormijdasya // [...]  
 13: [...] jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya puṇyātmano vṛiddheḥ... //  
 15–23: imam hūmamca miajdamca (yāvat) viśvāsca vibhūtīḥ majdadattāḥ puṇyāt prakaṭāḥ //  
 30: ... śrośadrūṇe...

#### XXV

2: imam hūmam puṇyena uccairdattam ā / [...]  
 5: ...hūmamataḥ...  
 6: apāṁ uttamānāṁ apaśca hūmīyāḥ ā //  
 9: ...baresmanīm... // ...mājdaiasnīyāḥ /  
 11: ...majdadattāḥ...

#### XXVI

2: ...jarathuśtrotim(ān)āmca //  
 3: ...ahurmajdāt //  
 6: ...hormijdāt...  
 10: ...jarathustrasya...  
 15: jarathustrasya spitamaputrasya...  
 17: jarathustraputrasya...

#### XVIII

...jarathustra(h) /  
 1: ...hormijdasya... (= 4b)  
 5b: ...śrośanaparijñeyam /  
 6b: ...jarathustro...  
 8: ...saha mitrayāmaḥ /

#### XXIX

2: ...hormijda...  
 5: ...hormijdasya...  
 5b: ...hormijdāya...  
 8: ...jarathustraḥ spitamaputraḥ //  
 9b: ...jarathustrāya... (= 9c)  
 10c: [...] jarathustro / [...]

MILLS 1912: v. 6: ásurah(-o), mahādeáḥ (= Ahura Mazdā)  
 v. 8b: jarateuśtrah(-s), spitāmaḥ(-ós) (= Zarathuśtra)

### **XXX**

1b: ...hormijdasya / [...] (= 4c, 8c)  
3: [...] hormijdah... (= 3c, 4b)  
5c: ...hormijdāya... (x 2)  
10c: hormijdeca dharmeca / [...]

### **XXXI**

2b: ...hormijdasya... (x 2; = 6b)  
2c: hormijdāt... hormijdācca...  
6c: hormijdīyam... (= 19)  
14b: [...] hormijdāya ...  
21c: [...] yo nijasya adṛiśyamūrteḥ karmaṇā mitram //  
22c: sa te mahājñānīn svāmin mitram asti niveditatanuh / [...]

### **XXXII**

2c: ...mitrayāmi...  
4b: vadatām devamitratvam uttamām sīdayati manah / [...]  
5b: ...-deva-...  
12c: ...mitratarā...

### **XXXIII**

2c: ...mitratayā... (=10b)  
5: ...śrośa...  
10c: ...mitratayā...  
13b: ...ahuramajdasya..  
14: ... jarathustro ...  
14b: ...ahuramajdāya...

### **XXXIV**

4: ...ahuramajda...  
4c: ...ahuramajdah...

### **XXXVI**

16: tatra yatra sūrya uktaḥ / [...]

### **XXXIX**

1: ... hormijdah //

### **XLI**

12: ...ahuramajda // (= 14)  
22: [...] mihiram iajdam //  
23: hormijdamca jarathustramca ā...  
24: ...majdadattam...  
30: hūmamca...  
31: hūmam...  
32: hūmam dūramṛityum ā //

### **XLII**

...hormijdasya... jarathustrasya... (= 1e, 3e, 8e, 9e, 11e, 14e, 16e)  
2e: ...jarathustrasya... (= 4e, 5e, 6e, 7e, 10e, 12e, 13e, 15e)

3d: [...] hormijdaḥ // (= 9c, 10e)  
8 : ...jarathustro... (= 16)  
8c: ...hormijdasya...  
12d: śrośaḥ puṇyātmā gustāspah mahādātrā jarathustreṇa saṃmiśraḥ //  
14: yo narāya mitrāya viśiṣṭajñānīne lābhāḥ dadāti / [...]  
14d: ...hormijda jarathustram...  
16: ...mitrayāmi // (x 2, = 16b, c)

### XLIII

1c: ...mitro...  
1d: evaṁ vayaṁ puṇyena mitraṁ dadāmaḥ sahakartāraṁ / [...]  
1e, clos.: ... jarathustrasya...hormijdasya... jarathustrasya... clos.ura (= 8e clos., 9e clos.)  
2e: [...] bhuvanadvaye 'pi mitro mahājñāninaḥ /  
2e clos.: ... jarathustrasya (= 3e, 4e clos., 5e clos., 6e clos., 7e clos., 10d clos., 11e clos., 12e clos., 13e clos., 14e clos., 15e clos., 17e clos., 19e clos.)  
3c: (kah) sūrasya tārakāṇāṁca dadau padavīm / [...] -candra  
5e: ...śośiosah...  
9d: ...hormijdasya...  
16d: ...śrośasya...  
16e: ...śaośiosasya ...  
16e clos.: ...jarathustrasya.. hormijdasya  
18d: ...majda..  
19b: [...] jarathustrapratimāya //  
20d clos.: ...hormijdasya // (= 20e clos.)

### XLIV

1c: ...hormijdo... (= 4b)  
1e clos.: ...jarathustrasia... hormijdasya (= 6e clos.)  
2b: ...hormijdaḥ...  
2e clos.: ...jarathustrasya // (= 3e clos., 4e clos., 5e clos., 7e clos., 8e clos., 9e clos., 10e clos., 11e clos.)  
3: ...hormijdasya... (= 4, 6b, 7, 8d)  
4e: sarvajñānīnī hormijdīyā / [...]  
5c: ...śrośāya... (x2)  
5e: ...hormijde /  
8b: ...hormijdāt // (= 9b)  
9c: hormijdarājyaṁ samācarabdhiḥ asmabhyāṁ dehi hormijda //  
11e: mitro bhrātā pitā vā hormijdaḥ //

### XLV

1: [...] hormijdaḥ śiṣyaiḥ / [...] (= 8e)  
1e clos.: ...jarathustrasya // (= 2e clos., 3e clos., 4e clos., 6e clos., 7e clos., 8e clos., 9e clos., 10e, 10e clos., 11e clos., 12e clos., 13e clos. x2, 14e clos., 16e clos., 17e clos.)  
5b: ...mitratayā ... maitrīvān //  
5e clos.: ...jarathustrasya... hormijdasya //  
6e: ...hormijdasya/ ...śaośiośah... (= 15d clos., 18e clos.)  
10c: [...] mahyāṁ jarathustrāya // [...]  
13: ...spitamānvayāya jarathustrāya...  
14a.b.: jarathustra kaste muktātmā mitro mahatā mahattvena / [...]  
14e: ...spitamāt...

15: ...śpitamāyāḥ //  
 15d: ...hormijdah //  
 17c: ...śrośadakṣiṇādānena //  
 19b: jarathustrasya... (x2)

### **XLVI**

1d clos.: ...hormijdasya //  
 2d clos.: ...jarathustrasya //  
 3d clos.: ...jarathustrasya...hormijdasya // (= 4d clos., 5d clos.)

### **XLVII**

1c: ...devānām...  
 4c: ...mitratvam...  
 5d: ...jarathustro...  
 7d: ...hormijdasya //

### **XLVIII**

3d: ...mitratām...  
 5d: ...hormijda /  
 12: ...jarathustro...

### **XLIX**

6b: mitratām... jarathustro...  
 7: [...] mitrasya...  
 10c: ...sūryah...  
 11d: ...jarathustro...

### **L**

11: ko mitraḥ spitamajarathustrasya narāṇām madhye svāmin //  
 12b: yat jarathustraḥ spitamāno 'ham pramuditō 'smi //  
 12c: ayam me jātiśātakāle pracarati mitratām //  
 14: ...mitrasya...  
 15: ...jarathustro...  
 17: mitro...  
 19: ...spitamānasyaca...  
 20: ...mitratvam...

### **LI**

14: ...ahuramajdasya...

### **LII**

1: ...jarathustrasya / [...]  
 1b: spitamānasya...  
 2c: ...jarathustraspitamānasya...  
 3b: ...jarathustreṇa //  
 7d: ...mitratvam...

### **LIII**

1: ...jarathustrīyābhyaḥ //

**LVI**

śrośasya... ...yathāhuramajdābhilāśah / [...] ...jarathustrīyāṁ... hormijdanyāyavatīm / [...]

1: śrośam...

5: [...] śrośāt //

7: ...śrośa...

8: śrośam... (= 10)

9: ...śrośāt //

10: ...hormijdam...

12: ...jarathustrasya...

**ADDENDA****2**

2: ...baresma...

**3**

2: ...spitamaputro...jarathustra //

**6**

3: ...majdaīasnānāṁ...

5: ...śrośah...

**8**

2: ...hūmam...

5: ...hūmaḥ //

**10**

2: [...] śrośah pracaret / [...]

3: ...śrośah... (= 8)

4: ...hormijdasya...

**13**

5: ...śrośah... (= 6 x 2, 7)

## APPENDIX B

### Names in the *Magavyakti* (alphabetical order)

**āditya** – Edgerton: p. 93, m., the gotra name of Śākyamuni's family  
S-P 355: ādit(i)yá-

**āra** – T. Prakrit: āra-, °aō, 1295 : ārá-, pronominal stem in ārát ‘from a distance’;  
[T. Oriya: āra- 189, 643, 644, 2330; T. Dameli: āra 14060; T. Shumashti: āra 1111; T. Kashmiri: āra 14059; T. Sindhi: āra 1313;]

Prakrit Proper Names: pag 88: Āra: one of the six Mahāñiraya abodes of the fourth hell.

Wörterbuch: ārâ, ts. Ahle.

Pischel: āra, 165

ardha-māgadhī kosa: āra 1. this world 2. world, worldly existence 3. householdership 4. a certain division of the 4th hell-region

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: p 177: āra 1. Of the first 2. The planet Mars

Mylius: āra pag. 135: *m* 1. Erdenwelt, Menschenwelt 2. Hausvater-Dasein 3. Jin Myth eine Stätte in der vierten Höllenregion

Edgerton: āra, p. 102, nt., the hither or nearer side or part.

V.: āra, ara 523; ārā np; M. ipnb: Ara- 18;

**arka**: S-P p 71: arká-

**maṇḍala** – T.Pali: maṇḍala- 9742; T. Oriya: maṇḍala 9742 : ‘circle, disc of sun or moon’.

Wörterbuch: pag. 135: maṇḍala, ts Kreis.

Mylius P: pag. 278 Kreis, Ring

S-P 452: māṇḍala-

## A

**adayī** – ardha-māgadhī kosa: adaya ‘cruel, hard-hearted, merciless’

**adaiāra** – T.Prakrit: adaï 232 : : \*adati ‘eats’;

**ayodhyāra** – P1: Ayojjhā (Ayodhya) pag. 165;

Prakrit Proper Names, pag. 58: Ayojjhā (Ayodhyā) see Aojjhā: Principal city of Kosala.

Mylius P: pag. 60 ayojjha (ayodhya) adj unbekämpfbar, unbezwunglich

**arihasī / arihasiā** – Wörterbuch: pag. 92: ariha, arha wert mah’; arihai, √varh sollen.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: ariha ‘price, cost, value’

Mylius: ariha pag. 98 1. <arh:; arihai, arihati fähig sein, wert sein, würdig sein, taugen 2. Adj <arha: moralisch verdienend, würdig 3. m <argha: Wert, Preis

**avadhiāra**: Mylius P: pag. 64: 3 ps aor von vadhati

**avadhy** – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 67: Avajjhā (Avadhyā) Capital of the Gaṇdhila district in the Mahāvideha (Sthānāga 637, Jambūdvīpaprajñapti 102).

Edgerton: avadhyā, p.72: adj., ep. of śilpa, art

## U

**uravāra / uruvāra** – T. Lahnda: urvār 810: \*avarapāra- ‘on this side of the river’

Mylius: ura pag. 168 n <uras: Brust

Mylius P: pag. 107 m n ved. uras Brust

V.: ūra, uwra, Scharz, 515

Ta: p 128 ura

**uru** – T.Pali: 2353; – T.Prakrit: uru- 2353 : urú- ‘wide’; [T. Prasun: urü 10576, 10805, urū 6636; T. Sindhi: uru 2350;]

VV: uru pag. 53

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: uru ‘extensive vast’

Mylius: uru pag. 169 adj <uru: groß, breit, weit

Mylius P: pag. 107 <ved uru: 1. Adj (auch urunda) weit, großräumig 2. f. Erde, Erdboden

S-P: 781: urú-

**ulla** – T. Prakrit: ulla- 2057: udra- ‘wet’, 2559: ölla- ‘debt’

Pischel: ulla, 111

ardha-māgadhī kosa: ulla ‘wet, damp’

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 699 ulla ‘debt’

Mylius: ulla pag. 169 adj 1. feucht, nass 2. Pflanze - grün

Edgerton: pag. 148: adj., wet; fresh, new.

S-P 473: ulla-

**ullārka**

## E

**e** – T. Bengali: e 2530 : : ēśā ‘this’ ; T. Oriya: e [2462], 2530; T. Gujarati: 2530, (10391 : yá-nom.pl.m); T. Lahnda: e 2530; T. Panjabi: e 2530

ardha-māgadhī kosa: e 1. A vocative interjection 2. This, in this way.

Mylius: e pag. 181 1.<ā-i: kommen, ankommen 2. <e: Interj 3. Avd <evam: auf diese Weise, so

Guj: pag. 30: adj. that

S-P 792: e

**esiāra** – [T. Marathi: ēśī 911 : : aśītī ‘eighty’; T. Pashai ēśī 215 : : \*atiśōdhi- ‘broom’]

(P1: Esikā: A country in Jambudīpa, pag 459)

Mylius: esi pag. 186 adj <eśin: suchend, wünschend

## AI

**aiāra** – Wörterbuch: pag. 87: ai° - ati, sehr

Mylius: aiāra pag. 15: m <aticāra: Jin (unabsichtliches) Vergehen, Übertretung

## O

**oní**: Mylius P: pag. 115 m <vgl ved oní: anvertrautes Gut

S-P 666: oní-

**onipura**

**omṇaniāra**

## onđari

## K

**kajjha** – T. Pali: khajja (ka)-, 3872 : khādya- ‘solid food’; kajjala-, 2622; – T. Prakrit: kajja- 3078 : kārya- ‘action,duty’

Wörterbuch: pag. 100: kajja, kārya n. Geschäft, Sache.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kajja ‘a deed, an action, an aim, a purpose, a duty’

Mylius: kajja pag. 196 <kārya:

**kattha** – T. Pali: kaṭṭha- 3449 : krṣṭā- ‘ploughed’, 2978 : kaṣṭā- ‘bad, useless’, 3120 : kāṣṭhā- ‘wood’; katthati- 2700; – T. Prakrit: katthaï 2700, kaṭṭha-2978, 3120, 3449;

Wörterbuch: pag. 101: kattha, kva wo, wohin?

Pischel: kattha, 293: kurta.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kattha ‘to say, to tell’ / where, on what side / (Nāva and other scriptures) including stories and historical matter

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 228: kattha 1. From where; Whence 2. A kind of vegetation

Mylius: kattha pag. 201 1. Pron interr <kutra: wo?, wohin? 2. Adj <kathyā: sagbar, erzählbar 3 (I) <kath:, katthai sagen, erzählen

Mylius P: pag. 126 wo? wohin?

## kapattha

**kapittha** – T. Pali: kapittha-, 2749 : kapittha- ‘the tree Feronia elephantum’;

P1: Kapiṭṭha: a village near Cittalapabbata-vihāra, the residence of Phussadeva.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kapittha ‘the wood-apple tree’

Mylius: kapittha pag. 201 n <kapittha: Name des Baumes Feronia elephantum

Mylius P = kapiṭṭha pag. 129 1. Bot Feronia elephantum 2. n Frucht von Feronia elephantum

Edgerton: pag. 167: m., the wood-apple tree and nt. its fruits.

S-P 202: kapittha-

**kapitthaka** – S-P 14: kapitthaka-

**kunḍā** – T. Pali: kunḍa- 3265 : kuṇḍa- ‘son of a woman during husband’s life by another man’; T. Oriya: kuṇḍa 3264 : kuṇḍā- ‘bowl, waterpot’; T. Hindi: kuṇḍā 3265 : ‘son born in adultery’; T. Sindhi: kuṇḍa 3898 : \*kuṇṭa- ‘corner’; T. Lahnda: kuṇḍā 3260 : \*kuṇṭa- ‘a bullock whose horns have been turned’

P1: A yakkha who once inhabited a forest, called Kunḍadhāna after him.

Mylius P: kuṇḍa pag. 142 adj gekrümmmt

Edgerton: pag. 185: adj, dull, blunt; mutilated.

S-P 71: kuṇḍārka

S-P 581: kuṇḍā-

**kurāpica** – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 191: Kurā see Kuru: two sub-regions of this name in Mahāvideha of Jambuddīva, Uttarakuru and Devakuru, situated on the north and south of mount Mamdara respectively.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kurā ‘a particular region in Akarma bhumi’

**kurāyica** – M.o: \*kuraiča- 11.1.7.3.8;

Z: 340: Kyrus

Ta: p 234, \*kuraičā-

**kuraiāra** – T.Oriya: kurāi 3229 : kutaja- ‘the tree Wrightia antidyserterica’

**koṇa** – T. Pali: kōṇa- 3504 : kōṇa- ‘corner, angle’; – T. Prakrit: = S-P 147: koṇa-

**koṇārka** – T. Bengali: koṇā 3504; T. Oriya: =; T. Panjabi: = ardha-māgadhī koṣa: koṇa ‘the key-note of a musical instrument’ ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 724: koṇa 1. Dark, black 2. A stick

Mylius: koṇa pag. 231 m <koṇa: 1. Keule, Knüppel, Stock 2. Mus. Bogen 3. Ecke, Winkel

Mylius P: pag. 146 1. Ecke 2. Stock

S-P 71: koṇārka-

## KH

**khajuraha** – T. Pali: khajju- 3827; T. Prakrit: khajjūra-, °rī, 3828; T. Oriya: khajura / khajurā 3828; T. Gujarati: khajur 3828; T. Marathi: khajurā 3829; T. Lahnda: khajūr 3828; T. Panjabi: =

**khajuraiā** – T. Gujarati: khajurī 3827, 3828; T. Sindhi: khajūri 3828; T. Kumauni: khajūr 3828; T. Nepali: khajur 3828, khajuri 3830, khajuro 3829

3827 : kharju- °jū ‘itching, scratching, scab’ – 3828 : kharjūra- ‘the date-palm Phoenix sylvestris’, khajju- ‘a particular tree’ – 3829 : kharjūraka- ‘scorpion’, khajuro ‘centipede’ – 3830 : kharjūrikā- ‘a sweetmeat’, khajuri ‘a partic. kind of sweetmeat’

Guj: pag. 41 <khə.ju.rə>: neut. a date fruit

**khaṇḍasūpa** – T. Pali: khaṇḍa- 3792, 3800; T. Oriya: khaṇḍa 3800; T. Bihari: khaṇḍā 3792, 3801; T. Hindi: khaṇḍā 3792; T. Pashai: khaṇḍā 3792; T. Gawar-bati: khaṇḍa 3792; T. Panjabi: khaṇḍā 3793

3792 : khaṇḍā- ‘broken, piece’ / ‘hill, mountain pass, hill pasture’ – 3793 : \*khaṇḍaka- ‘sword’ – 3800 : khaṇḍu- ‘sugar’, khaṇḍa- ‘lump-sugar’ – 3801 : khaṇḍu- ‘cloth’

Wörterbuch: pag. 104: khaṇḍa, ts. Stück, Teil

Mylius P: khaṇḍa pag. 148 skr = 1. Adj lückenhaft, mangelhaft 2. m n Stück(en), Teil

S-P 289: sūpa-

**khaṇṭakāra** – S-P: p 407 kaṇḍakāra

**khaṇṭavāra**

**khanasupa** – S.W.: χανό 301; J: xanas, 169;

**khanetu**

**khanedvāra**

## G

**gaṇḍārka** – T. Pali: gaṇḍa- 3998 : gaṇḍa- ‘joint of plant’, m ‘stalk’, 3999 : gaṇḍa- ‘cheek’; T. Oriya: gaṇḍā 4000 : gaṇḍā- ‘rhinoceros’, 4001 : gaṇḍaka- ‘four cowries’; T. Bihari: gaṇḍā 3998; T. Marathi: gaṇḍā 4001; T. Hindi: gaṇḍā 4001; T. Panjabi: =

Wörterbuch: pag. 106: gaṇḍa, vana.

Mylius P: gaṇḍa pag. 151 skr = bes Med Schwellung, Beule, Knoten, Kropf

Edgerton: pag. 208 gaṇḍa: stalk of a plant; piece, part, portion;

**gan(/m)dāva** – [T. Prakrit: gaṇḍhavva- 4017 : gandharvā- , 4132]

**gannaiā** – T. Prakrit: ganna- 4120 : \*gāṇya- n ‘counting’; T. Hindi: gannā 3998; T. Panjabi: = VV: gaṇḍā pag. 56

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 267: ganna1. One deserving the respect 2. Counting

**guṇasaimā** – Wörterbuch: pag. 107: guṇa

**guṇāśava** – T. Marathi: guṇā 4226; T. Panjabi: guṇā 4190; T. West Pahari: guṇā 4288; T. Assamese: guṇā 4190;

ardha-māgadhī kosa: guṇa ‘a quality ecc.’

Mylius: guṇa pag. 251

Mylius P: guṇa pag. 156

Edgerton: guṇa pag. 212: advantage; cluster, garland;

Guj: pag. 49 <gu.ɳə>: masc. quality

## C

**caṇḍaroṭi / caṇḍaroṭi** – T. Pali: caṇḍa(ka)- 4584 : cāṇḍa- ‘passionate, fierce, cruel’ ;

Wörterbuch: pag. 108: caṇḍa, ts. heftig, grimmig, scharf

Mylius P: caṇḍa pag. 159 adj ved cāṇḍa heftig, wild, ungestüm

**cāṇa** – T. Bengali: cāṇā 4579 : caṇa- ‘a small variety of chickpea’

**cāṇārka** – T. Panjabi: cāṇā 4753 : cāyayati ‘to raise’; T. West Pahari: cāṇā 4775 : \*cāh- ‘to wish’; T. Kumauni: cāṇā 4579

## CH

**chatra** – T. Prakrit: chatta- 4972 : chāttra- ‘parasol, umbrella’; T. Panjabi: chatrā 4973 : \*chattra- ‘young animal’, chatrī 4972

Mylius: chatta pag. 276 n <chattra: Sonnenschirm

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 289 chatta (chatra) ‘a student, a scholar’

Guj: pag. 62 <chə.trii>: fem. an umbrella

S-P 430: chatra- W1 (= E. Waldschmidt, Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Teil I – III. *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1949, 1, Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 1950, 2–3)

**chatravāra** – T. Lahnda: chatrarā 4973;

**cheri** – T. Bengali: cheli 4963; T. Oriya: cheri 4959; T. Biharī: cher 4963, cherī 4963; T. Bhojpuri: chēri 4963; T. Hindi: cherī 4963; T. Kashmiri: 4959; T. Nepali: cheri 5043

4959 : \*chagāṭa- ‘he-goat’ – 4963 : chagalā- m ‘goat’ – 5043 : chidrā- ‘hole, cleft, narrow passage’

S-P: 704: bheri

**cheriāra**

## J

**jamvu** – T. Hindi: jambū 5132; T. Gujarati: jamvū 5126; jámati ‘eats’; 5267 jēmati ‘eats’; S-P 778: jambu-

**jamvupura**

**javuāra**

## T

**ṭakura** – T. Maithili: ṭakuri 5717 : tarkú- ‘spindle’; T. Marathi: takurē 5422 : \*ṭakka- ‘bald’; T. Pashai: ṭekur- 5466 : \*ṭukk- ‘cul, break’ \*ṭukka- ‘piece’; T. Nepali: ṭakuri, ṭakuro 5423 : \*takka- ‘hill’

**ṭakkurāya** – T. Oriya: takkara 5424 : takkarā- f ‘blow on the head’ , ‘collision’; T. Maithili: ṭakkā 5426 : ṭaṅka- ‘weight of 4 māśas’, ‘a stamped coin’;

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 304: ṭakka 1. A name of a country 2. Pertaining to the country Takka

## D

**ḍamaraura** – T. Prakrit: ḍamarua- 5531 : ḍamaru- m ‘drum’; T. Oriya: dama 5570 : ḍōmba- ‘a low caste who weave baskets and sound drums’; T. Nepali: ḍamaru 5531;

ardha-māgadhī kosa: ḍamara 1. Trouble caused by quarrel among princes of the same royal family 2. rebellion, commotion, riot

Mylius: ḍamara pag. 95: m <ḍamara: Aufruhr, Streit, Tumult

Guj: pag. 77 <ḍo.m.ro>: masc. a kind of fragrant plant

S-P 427: raura-

**ḍīhī** – T. Bihari: ḍīh 9598 : bhrṣṭi- ‘old village site’; T. Nepali: ḍihi 6562 : dēhī- ‘mound’

**ḍīhīka**

**ḍumaraura** – T. Oriya: ḍumara 1942 : udumbára- ‘the tree Ficus glomerata’; T. Kumauni: dumauṛo 5571 : \*ḍōmbakuṭaka- ‘habitation of the Doms’

Guj: pag. 79 <ḍu.mo>: masc. suffocation caused by sobbing

**ḍumarī** – T. Bhojpuri: dūmari 1942

S-P 750: dhūmari-

**ḍumariāra**

## T

**terahādiḥ parāśāḥ** - T. Oriya: teṛhā 6071 : \*trēḍḍa- ‘crooked’; T. Maithili: terah 6001; T. Hindi: =; T. Sindhi: terāhā 6001; T. Lahnda: tehra 6001 : ‘thirteen’

G: p’lsy, Pārs; S: \*Pārsa- 235; Ta: p. 62, 265;

**terahaparāśi** – T. Prakrit: tēraha 6001; T. Bengali: tera 6001;

Mylius: terasa pag. 356 adj num <trayodaśan: dreizehn

## D

**devakuāra** – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 382: devakurā 1. = devakuru, a sub-region of Mahāvideha; 2. a place situated on the north-eastern Raikararaga mountain.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: devakurā ‘a region of Jugaliyās situated in the Mahāvideha to the south of Meru’ / devakuru ‘a region of Jugaliyās in Mahāvideha of Jambūdvīpa’

**devakulī** – ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 368: devakuliya ‘a worshiper’

**devadīha**

**devadīhā**

**devalasiā** – P1: Devala: 1. An ascetic 2. Cousin of Padumuttara Buddha 3. A Pacceka Buddha, pag. 1116

ardha-māgadhī kosa: devala ‘a Rishi of this name of another creed’

**devāhvākhyapura**

**dehulāsi**

**dehulasia**

**dehulāsia**

## P

**paṭiśā** – ardha-māgadhī kosa: paṭṭisa ‘a kind of missile’

**paṭhiśāmī**

**paḍarī** – T. Old Bengali: paḍihārī 8618 : pratihāra- ‘doorkeeper’; T. Old Marwari: padaī 7722

: pátati

**paḍariāra**

**parāśāḥ** - Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 442: Parāśara (Parāśara) A Brahmin mendicant and his followers.

**pavairi** – VV: pag. 37: Pavamāna e Pāvaka (two names of Agni)

**pavaiāra** – T. Prakrit: pavaī 9024 : plāvatē ‘swims’

Wörterbuch: pag. 129: pāvai, pra  $\sqrt{āp}$  erreichen,  $^{\circ}$ iya

ardha-māgadhī kosa: pavāi 1. A disputant, an antagonist 2. One familiar with the systems of philosophy

Mylius: pavāi pag. 436 adj <pravādin: redend, sprechend / pavāia pag. 436 1. Adj <pravāta: geweht 2. Adj <pravādita: bespielt

**[pāligamdhā]** – Wörterbuch: pag. 129: pāli, ts. Rand. ardha-māgadhī koṣa: pāli ‘the round bank of a pond etc.’

Mylius: pāli p 447 f <pāli: Ecke, Rand, Kante

**pālivādha** - Edgerton: pag. 344, pālevata: a kind of tree

S-P 223: paribādha-

**pālivāmḍha** – ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 796 pālīvamḍha ‘a lake, a pond’

**puṇḍra** – S-P 430: puṇḍra-

**puṇḍrārka**

**puṇyārka**

**pūti** – T. Pali: pūti- 8323 : pūti ‘putrid’; T. Sindhi: pūti 8403 : \*pōttī- ‘glass bead’

ardha-māgadhī kosa: pūti ‘stench, foul-smell’

Mylius P: pūti pag. 260 faulig, stinkend

Edgerton: pag. 350 pūta: n. of some plant

S-P: 678: pūti-

**pūtiāra**

**pūliāra** – T. Oriya: pūli 491 : apūpā- ‘sweet cake fried in ghee’; T. Hindi: pūlī 8349 : pūla- ‘sheaf’; T. Gujarati: pūlī 8349; T. Panjabi: =

## B

**bāra** – T. Prakrit: bāra- 6663; T. Bengali: bāra 6658; T. Bihari: bārā 6663, 11481; T. Old Awadhi: bāra 9216, 11480, 11547; T. Awadhi: bārā 6658; T. Hindi: =; T. Old Marwari: bāra 6663, 11547; T. Marathi: bārā 6658; T. Shumashti: bārā 9186; T. Lahnda: bārā 6658; T. Panjabi: =; T. Kumauni: bāra 6658; T. Nepali: bāra 6658; T. Assamese: bāra 6658; 6658 : dvādāsa, bārasa ‘twelve’ – 6663 : dvāra- ‘door, house’ ‘outside’ ‘house and home’ – 9186 : bahis ‘outside’ – 9216 : bālā- ‘boy’ – 11480 : vāta- ‘fence, side wall’ (‘garden’) – 11481 : vāta ‘cake made of pulse and oil’ – 11547 : vāra- ‘appointed time, time’

Pischel: bāra 300: bāra = dvāra.

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: bāra ‘twelve’ - bāra-muhutta ‘the 12 muhuratas (a measure of time)’

Mylius: bāra pag. 471 n Num <dvādaśan>: zwölf

Guj: pag. 141 <ba.rə> adj twelve

S-P 414: bāra-

## BH

**bhaḍaulīpura** – Wörterbuch: pag. 132: bhaḍa, °ṭa, Söldling.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: bhaḍa ‘a warrior, a soldier’

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: p 468 bhaḍa 1. A barbarian race 2. A tribe of mixed caste 3. Demon

Mylius: bhada pag. 477 m <bhaṭa>: 1. Soldat 2. Held

Guj: pag. 146 <bhə.də> adj brave

**bhalunā** – T. Bhojpuri: bhālu 9415 : bhallūka- ‘bear’; T. Sindhi: bhalu 9408 : bhalla- ‘goodness’

Guj: pag. 148 <bhə.lū> adj good

**bhaluniāra**

**bhalunī**

**bhalodiāra** – T. Prakrit: bhallōḍa- 9411 : \*bhallukūṭa ‘tip of an arrow’;

**bheḍāpākari** – T. Lahnda: bheḍ 9606; T. Panjabi: bheḍā 9606

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 809 bheḍa Cowardly, timid

S-P 702: pākāri-

**bheḍāpākarīśa**

**bheḍīpākari** – T. Panjabi: bheḍī 9606

9604 : bhēḍa- ‘sheep’ – 9605 : \*bhēḍa- ‘defective’ – 9606 : bhēḍra- ‘ram’

Guj: pag. 153 <bhe.dii>: adj mysterious

## M

**makhapā** – T. Sindhi: makha 9696 : mákṣā- f ‘fly, bee’

**makhapāra**

**makhapavāra**

**madaraudi** – T. Marathi: madārī 9835 : mantrakāra- ‘juggler’; T. Nepali: madauro 9754 : \*matthara ‘sick’

Mylius: mada pag. 496 m <mada>: 1. Hochmut, Dünkel 2. Rausch

S-P 662: raudi-

**malaudā** – T.Bihari: malwa 9740 : mañḍapa- ‘lean-to thatch against a wall’, 9909 : malla- ‘box for oil’]

**malaudiāra**

**malaunda** - Edgerton: pag. 420 maluda: m., a high number

**mahurāśi** – T. Prakrit: mahurā- 9770; T. Hindi: mahura 9770 : mathurā

Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 589: Mahurā (Mathurā)

Wörterbuch: pag. 136: mahura, madh° lieblich, freundlich.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: mahura 1. Sweet, savoury 2. Sweet to the ear 3. a non-aryan country so named, an inhabitant of that country

Mylius: pag. 504 1. mahura m <mahura: Name eines Barbarenlandes 2. mahura adj <madhura: süß, lieblich, zart / mahur-ā ~ī f <mathurā: Name einer Stadt am rechten Ufer der Yamunā

**[mātampāra]**

**mārkaṇḍeya** – S-P 343 : mārkaṇḍeya-

**mārkaṇḍeyārka**

**mālārka** – T. Prakrit: māla- 9996,10088; mālā- 10092; T. Bihari: mālā 9909; T. Sindhi: māla 10095; T. West Pahari: mālā 10095;

9909 : malla- ‘box for oil’ – 9996 : \*māḍa- māla ‘a sort of pavillon’ – 10088 : māla- ‘a forest near a village’ ‘garden’ ‘jungle’ – 10092 : mālā- ‘wreath, garland’ – 10095 : mālyā ‘garland’

ardha-māgadhī kosa: mālā ‘a garland / a row / a collection / an upper deck or storey on a ship’

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 43

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 815 māla 1. A garden 2. A bedstead 3. Beautiful, handsome

Mylius: māla pag. 507 m <māla: Dachterrasse, Flachdach

Mylius P: mālā pag. 284 skr = Kranz, Girland

Edgerton: pag. 431 mālā: upper part, top; garland (also the goddess personification of the garland)

Guj: p 161 <ma.lo>: masc. goods

**muhurāśi** – T. Old Gujarati: muhuru 9793 : madhurā- ‘sweet’; T. Sindhi: muhurī 10223 : mūṣala- ‘pestle, club’; T. Panjabi: muhur 10232 : mūḍhā- ‘fool’; T. Nepali: muhurā 10163 : mukhataṇḍaka- ‘face’;

**muhurāśī**

**Y**

**yabherī** – S-P 754: jayabherī

**R**

**rahadaliāra** – T. Pali: rahada- 14183 : hradá- ‘deep pond’

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: raha ‘zeal, enthusiasm’

Mylius: raha pag. 520

Mylius P: rahada pag. 295 ved hradá See, Teich

Hinuber: rahado 246

## L

**lola** – T. Prakrit: lōla- 11136 : \*lōda- ‘tossing, hanging’, ‘waving, greedy’, ‘earring, eardrop’; T. Bengali: lola 11136; T. Kashmiri: lōla 11136; T. Nepali: = S-P 472: lola-

**lolarka** – T. Hindi: lolā 11136; T. Assamese: =

VV: lola pag. 67

Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 658: Lola: a Mahāniraya situated in the Rayaṇappabhā hell.

Wörterbuch: pag. 140: lola, ts. gierig, lüstern.

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: lola ‘√ to roll, to rub, to roast, parch’ ‘lively, active / greedy, attached / a hell-abode of the first hell’

Mylius: lola pag. 534 1. (I) <luth, lolai a. rollen intr. sich bewegen b. bewegen, schütteln 2. (II) <luth caus.: lolei bewegen, schütteln 3. <lola: I. adj a. gierig, begehrlich, verlangend 2. Beweglich, lebhaft; II. m Jin Name einer Stätte in der ersten Hölle

Mylius P: lola pag. 301 skr = adj 1. unruhig, unstet; 2 gierig, begehrlich, verlangend

S-P 71: lolarka-

## V

**vāḍasāra** – Wörterbuch: pag. 141: vāḍa, °ta, Ficus indica.

Mylius: vāḍa pag. 540 <vaṭa: 1. Fischart 2. bot Ficus religiosa, Feigenbaum

Edgerton: pag. 468 vāḍa: banyan, in a list of flowers

Guj: pag. 184 <vəd>: masc. a banyan tree

**vāḍasāra** – T. Marathi: vāḍā 11213 : vaṭa- ‘cake or fried pulse’

**vāḍisāra** – T. Marathi: vāḍī 11213;

Edgerton: pag. 468 vāḍī: n. of a Yakṣa

**varavāra** – T. Pali: vara- 11308 : vāra- ‘choice, boon’, 11309 : varā- ‘husband’; – T. Prakrit: = P1: Varavāraṇā: a class of long-lived deities, pag. 835

VV: vara pag. 61

Wörterbuch: pag. 142, vara, ts. vorzüglich / Freier, Gatte / Wahlgabe

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vara ‘excellent ecc.’

Mylius: vara pag. 543 1. (II) <vr̥ kaus.: varei a. wählen, b. erbitten 2. n <vara: Wunsch 3. Adj <vara: berster, schönster

Mylius P: vara pag. 307 ved vāra 1. Adj hervorragend, vorzüglich, bester 2. Wunsch, Gefallen

**vāravāra** – T. Pali: vāra- 11547 : vāra- ‘appointed time, one’s turn’, ‘a day of the week’; – T. Prakrit: =

Wörterbuch: pag. 143, vāra, ts. Mal.

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vāra ‘the fourth hell-abode / time / a small pot’ ‘√ to check, to stop’ ‘a kind of tree, a kind of fruit’

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 536 vāra 1. Collection, multitude 2. A day of the week 3. Time, turn

Mylius: vāra pag. 550 1. (II) <vr̥ kaus.: vārei abwehren, zurückhalte, hemmen, verbieten 2. m <vāra: a. Haufen, Menge b. Topf c. Jin Name der vierten Hölle

Mylius P: vāra pag. 310 m <ved vāra: 1. Reihe, Mal 2. Gelegenheit

S-P 415: varavāra-

**vāruṇārka** – P.1: Vāruṇā: a class of deities, followers of Varuṇa, who were present at the preaching of the Mahāsamaya Sutta, pag. 854

Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 691 Vāruṇa

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vāruṇa ‘an aerial disturbance in some constellation / name of the god Varuṇa samudra / a sea named Vāruṇa / name of the 5th of the 30 muhūrtas’

Mylius: vāruṇa pag. 550 adj <vāruṇa>: Myth auf Varuṇa bezüglich

**vāla** – T. Pali: vāla- 11572 : vāla- ‘hair of tail, tail, hair’, 12212 : vyāla ‘malicious’; – T. Prakrit:

=

Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 692: Vāla: one of the seven branches of Kāsava lineage.

**vālārka** – T. Panjabi: vālā 11573;

Wörterbuch: pag. 143: vāla, ts. Haar.

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vāla 1. A serpent; a wild beast 2. Hair / The branch of the Kāśyapa family- origin; a man born in that branch

Mylius: vāla pag. 550 1. m <vyāla>: a. Schlangen b. Raubtier c. wütender Elefant 2. m <vāla>: a. Haar b. Name eines Zweigs der Kāśyapa-Sippe

Mylius P: vāla pag. 310 - m ved vāla 1. Schweif, Schwanz 2. Haarsieb 3. Borste, Haar / Adj ved vyāla hinterlistig, boshaft

Guī: pag. 191 <va.lə>: masc. a kind of pulse

S-P 464: vāla-

**vinaśaimā** – T. Old Gujarati: viṇasaī 11770 : vīnaśyati ‘dies’

**vināśava** – T. Old Gujarati: viṇāśa 11777 : vināśa- ‘destruction, death’

Mylius P: vināśa pag. 316 skr vināśa : Schwund, Verlust, Untergang

**vipurapura**

**vipuroha**

**vipurohā**

**vedakuliāra**

## S

**ṣaṣṭhahāya** – B: šast

**ṣaṣṭhahāyā**

## S

**sarai** – T. Prakrit: saraī 13250, 13863; T. Oriya: sara 12332, 12336, 13254; sarā 12334, 13260; T. Bihari: sar 12343; T. Maithili: sarāi 12349; T. Old Awadhi: sara 12336, 13254; T. Hindi: sarā 12324, 12334, sarāi 12334; T. Old Marwari: sara 12336, saraī 13250, sarāi 12734; T. Old Gujarati: saraī 13250; T. Marathi: sarā 12324; T. Pashai: šāṛai-. šāṛai- 12269; T. Sindhi: sarāi 12349; T. Assamese: sarāi 4571;

4571 : caṭaka- ‘sparrow, bird’ – 12269 : šāṭati; šāṛai- ‘to carry off, lead away’ – 12324 : šārā-; sara- ‘the reed S. sara, arrow’ – 12332 : šārās- ‘cream’ – 12334 : šārāvā- ‘earthen cover’ – 12336 : šāru- ‘missile, arrow’ – 12343 : šālā- ‘dart, spear’ – 12349 : šālāka-; sarāi ‘iron or wooden poker’ – 12734 : šīlāghatē; sarāi ‘praises’ – 13250 : sārati; saraī ‘moves, slips aside’/ ‘is completed’ – 13254 : sāras- ‘lake, pond’ – 13260 : \*sara- ‘string, garland’ – 13863 : smārati; saraī ‘remembers’

S-P: 792: surai-

Mylius: sara pag. 618 1 (I) <smṛ̣i>; sarai sich erinnern, gedenken 2. m <śara>: a. Pfeil b. Bot Saccharum Sara 3. Adj <sara>: gehend, sich fortbewegend 4. m <svara>: a. Schall, Ton b. Mus Note c. Gramm Vokal 5. n <saras>: See, Teich

Mylius P: sara p 356 1. See, Teich 2. sich erinnerdt, gedenkend 3. Bot. *Saccharum* sara – Pfeil  
4. Schall, Ton / Stimme / Akzent

Edgerton: p 582 sara: going, course  
**saraiāra**

**sarpaha / sarpaḥā** – (P1: *Sappa Sutta*, pag 1029)

M.Sk: sarpā-, sarparājñī-, ved. 3.9.1

**sikauriāra**

**sikaurī**

**sicauriāra**

**sivāriāra** – T. Panjabi: sivā 12356 : śáva- ‘burnt corpse, funeral pyre’

Mylius P: sivā pag. 364 skr śivā Schakal

**sivaurī** – T. Prakrit: siva- 12472 : śivá- ‘auspicious, name of Rudra’; [T. Hindi: siwār 12493 : śípāla- ‘green water weed’]

## H

**haradauli** – T. Hindi: harad 13992 : haridrā- ‘Curcuma longa, turmeric’; T. Lahnda: hardal 13992

Mylius: hara pag. 658 (I) <hr̥: harai 1. nehmen, wegnehmen, rauben 2. entzücken, hinreißen  
**haradauliāra**

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932 (vol. V)

B: BOYCE 1977

Edgerton: EDGERTON 1953

G.: GIGNOUX 1972

Guj: SUTHAR 2003

Hinüber: HINU BER 1986

J.: JUSTI 1895

M. o: MAYRHOFER 1973

M. Sk.: MAYRHOFER 2006

Mylius: MYLIUS 2003

Mylius P: MYLIUS 1997

P1: MALALASEKARA 1983

Pischel: PISCHEL 1900

Prakrit Proper Names: CHANDRA 1972

S: SCHMITT 2011

S-P: SCHWARZ 1978, PFEIFFER 1978

S.W.: SIMS-WILLIAMS 2010

T: TURNER 1962-1966

Ta: TAVERNIER 2007

V.: *Verzeichniss* in JUSTI 1895

VV: VELZE 1938

Wörterbuch: JACOBI 1886

Z: ZADOK 2009

## APPENDIX C

### INTERVIEWS

**N.B.:** The proper names of people and places are transcribed as they were pronounced.

### INTERVIEW 1

*On 8 October 2016, I was invited to meet some members of the Śākdvīpīya community in Delhi. First, Mr. K. C. Shakdwipee and his beautiful family, hailing from Rājasthān, welcomed me. He is the father of a student who attends Shiv Nadar University; I had previously met the daughter of Mr. Shakdwipee on the campus, and she subsequently put me in contact with her family.*

M. : (0.00) Are you part of the Śākdvīpīya community here in Delhi?

Mr. S.: (0.07) Yes, but we are originally from Rājasthān. My wife and I, we are originally from that state. I am from Udaipur, she comes from the Mārvāṛ region.

M.: (0.23) Is your community part of a religious trend?

Mr. S: (0.26) We are sun worshippers.

M.: (0.30) And from a social point of view, do the member of Śākdvīpīya community have a particular role?

Mr. S.: (0.39) Being Brahmins, we are generally literary people. But especially in Rājasthān (Jodhpur and Bīkāner), we work also for the Government and we are involved in business.

M.: (0.55) Are there other communities like yours in India?

Mr. S.: (1.03) Yes, there are many communities of Śākdvīpī Brāhmaṇs all over India. But they are settled especially in Rājasthān and Bihār.

M.: (1.14) Are there any differences in the communities from different states? Are they in contact?

Mr. S.: (1.25) There are some minor differences ... For example, Śākdvīpī in Rājasthān are strictly vegetarian, in Bihār they sometimes eat meat. There are differences because they are different states and the way of living for people is different. The communities are constantly in contact and there are also marriages between members of different communities. For example, a Rājasthāni man can marry a Bihārī woman. Or I would not have any problem in letting my daughter marry a men from Śākdvīpīya community in Bihār.

...

M.: (5.23) You are called Śākdvīpīya ... Why?

Mr. S.: (5.29) Because we came from Śākdvīp.

M.: (5.34) And where is Śākdvīp?

Mr. S.: (5.38) Śākdvīp is one of the ancient *dvīpas* ... Some people think that it can be identified with Persia.

M.: (5.49) What can you tell me about Magas and Bhojakas? Are they Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas as well?

Mr. S.: (6.00) Yes, actually my wife is a Bhojak. They are Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. You know, in Delhi there is a Śākdvīpīya Association. I used to be very active in the community and I had collected all the surnames of the Śākdvīpīyas who live in Delhi. They are Mishra, Pathak, Sharma, Upadhyay, Pandi, Bhojak, Sevak, Davera, and naturally Shakdweepe.<sup>835</sup>

[...] *We talk about my studies and my knowledge of the topic.*

Mr. S.: (13.17) Actually, after the Partition in 1947, many Śākdvīpīyas, who were settled in Punjab, moved to Sindh region.

[...]

M.: (15.35) Are there any personalities in the history of your community?

Mr. S.: (15.41) Yes, Cāṇakya was a Śākdvīpī. He was a great personality, poet, administrator, ecc. And also Varāhamihir, the famous astrologer.

*He shows me Dr. Gītā Rāy's Ph.D. thesis about the history of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.*

## DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: K. C. Shakdwipee

GENDER: Male

AGE: 50

PLACE OF BIRTH: Udaipur

PROFESSION: Handicrafts and Handlooms Exports Corporation of India Limited

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 8 October 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

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<sup>835</sup> All the surnames were provided in their Romanised form.

## INTERVIEW 2

*On the same day, Mr. K. C. Shakdwipee introduced me to Mr. Kumar Manish Mishra. We went to visit him at his government residence, as he works for the Parliament of India. Mr. Shakdwipee and his wife were present while we spoke. The opportunity to have a double interview with people coming from different states, both extremely important to the Śākdvīpiyas' history, gave me the chance to compare different approaches to their religious cult and the history of their community. The two men are active members of the Śākadvīpiya community, but they admitted that they do not possess a good knowledge of the history of their cultural practices. Nevertheless, they provided me with some very interesting information.*

[...]

M.: (0.00) Which are the main interests of Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇs?

Mr. M.: (0.06) They are very interested in Āyurveda. They have always been interested in natural sciences. The sun god is the only visible god. You can see him. And then they are learned in natural medicine: according to the Purāṇas, the sun god himself healed Kṛṣṇa's son, Sāmba, from leprosy. (0.33)

....

(1.32) According to my knowledge, Śākdvīpi have always been the bridge between gods and human beings. In particular, we worship the sun god because He is the only visible god, the only source of energy.

M.: (1.51) Do you have any particular sacred text?

Mr. M.: (1.57) Our knowledge is in the Vedas.

M.: (2.02) So, there are no other texts except Vedas?

Mr. S.: (2.10) No.

M.: (2.12) I have read in Purāṇas that there are some foreign elements in your cult. Kṛṣṇa's son, Sāmba, brought the first Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇs to India from Śākdvīpa. Where was it?

Mr. M.: (2.30) According to my knowledge, Śākdvīp was an island.

Mr. S.: (2.36) She knows that many people identify it with Persia.

M.: (2.42) And what about Zoroastrians? Do you know them?

Mr. M.: (2.48) According to my knowledge, Zoroastrians are considered to be part of the Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇs. They worship fire, no? The other visible god, like sun. You know Pārsīs?

They are Zoroastrians. I read they are Śākdvīpīyas, too. Also the two gods, sun and fire, are close.

M.: (3.12) Why do you say Zoroastrians are part of Śākdvīpīya community? Are there any proofs or written evidence?

Mr. M.: (3.21) It is based on documentary evidence.

M.: (3.24) Which documents?

Mr. M.: (3.27) Documentary evidence.

M.: (3.32) Are there any personalities in the history of your community?

Mr. M.: (3.38) Do you know the great mathematician who introduced the number zero? You know that numbers were invented in India ... The great Indian mathematician who invented number zero was Āryabhaṭa. He was Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ.

Mr. S.: (3.56) I have read that also Cāṇakya was a Śākdvīpī ...

Mr. M.: (4.01) Yes ...

Mr. S.: (4.03) And Varāhamihir of course ...

Mr. M.: (4.07) Yes, Varāhamihir ...

[...]

M.: (5.38) So, are you the only sun worshippers in India?

Mr. M.: (5.44) No

M.: (5.46) And why are you different from the other Hindū sun worshippers?

Mr. M.: (5.53) According to my knowledge, Śākdvīpīyas are the bridge between gods and humans. Śākdvīpīyas originated from the sun, they are part of the Sun. While ... The other Sun worshippers are not ... The Sun generated the Śākdvīpīyas from his own body. The descendants are the other sun worshippers.

M.: (6.23) Now I would like to ask you both: are there any differences between the communities in Rājasthān and Bihār? I don't know, about rituals, *pūjā* ...

Mr. M.: (6.35) I don't know if there are differences in *pūjā* ... I don't know exactly. You will probably see some priests doing *pūjā* during your travel to Rājasthān and Bihār.

Mr. S.: (6.47) I think the rituals are the same, but I don't know ...

M.: (6.53) And for other customs?

Mr. S.: (6.56) I told you, living in two different states, there are small differences ... Due to the environment. For example we are strictly vegetarian ...

Mr. M.: (7.11) We need to eat meat sometimes. Not very much, but we can't be strictly vegetarian, due to the climate.

## DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Kumar Manish Mishra

GENDER: Male

PLACE OF BIRTH: Darbhanga

PROFESSION: Work for the Parliament of India (he did not specify the position)

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 8<sup>th</sup> November 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

*Mr. K. C. Shakdwipee (INTERVIEW 1) and his wife were present at the time of the interview.*

## INTERVIEW 3

*On October 23, Mr. Chetan Shakdweepiya's beautiful family welcomed me in Udaipur. Mr. Shakdweepiya is a very active member of the Śākdvīpīya community, and in 2003/04 he prepared a catalogue of the names, addresses, contacts and family history of every Śākdvīpīya family in Rājasthān.*

*[...] He asked me about my research and how I became interested in the topic.*

*His children asked me my name, about my family, and told me about their schools.*

*In replying to my questions, he read from Nathamal Pāṇḍe's शाकद्वीपीय मग ब्राह्मण इतिहास एक विवेचन (Śākdvīpīya Mag Brāhmaṇ Hihāsa Ek Vivecana).*

Me: (0.00) You are part of the Śākdvīpīya community here in Udaipur. The name Śākdvīpīya, where does it come from?

Mr. S.: (0.09) We came originally from Śākdvīp, an island, like Jambudvīp, Śvetadvīp..

M.: (0.19) And the name of the island, where does it come from?

Mr. S.: (0.23) From the *sāk* tree. Some thinks it is related to Sakas.. like Kūṣāns, Hūṇās ... But that's not true. It is the *sāk* tree, a tree that has constantly various fragrances ... The first community settled in Bihār and then they spread all over India, particularly Rājasthān. You know, also the present king of Ayodhyā is Śākdvīpīya.

M.: (0.48) Do you have particular rituals or festivities?

Mr. S.'s wife: (0.54) The most important festivity is Sūrya Saptamī. It has no fixed date, but it is generally in February. During the festival, we decorate Sūrya's image and carry it to the city. About rituals ... We do *pūjā*, we do *havana pūjā* for the Sun.

Mr. S.: (1.14) Śākdvīpīyas were *paṇḍits* of every cult, but after Sāmba brought them to India for worshipping the sun god, they specialized in the sun cult. They spread sun cult all over India, they brought the sun cult to India ... Also Jarathuṣṭra came from Śākdvīpīya community.

M.: (1.45) Jarathuṣṭra? How do you know it?

Mr. S.: (1.49) According to Nathamal Pāṇḍe, also Jarathuṣṭra was a Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ.

M.: (1.56) Are there any differences between Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, Maga Brāhmaṇas and Bhojakas?

Mr. S.: (2.05) 'Mag' means 'Brāhmaṇ'; so you can say 'Śākdvīpīya Mag' or 'Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ'. It's the same. There are also other names ...

M.: (2.20) Are they different?

Mr. S.: (2.24) They have different names according to their function in ancient times.

Mr. S.'s wife: (2.31) Here says that they were called Bhojaks because they feed the Lord sun. And Sevaks, they only put on the clothes.

Mr. S.: (2.44) They also have different names in different regions. But we are all Śākdvīpīya. And Śākdvīp, we don't know where it was.

M.: (3.01) Which are your sacred texts?

Mr. S.: (3.05) The *Vedas*, our sacred texts are the *Vedas*.

Mr. S.'s wife: (3.10) In *Rgveda* ... Here there is also a reference to Śākdvīp in the *Rgveda* 6, 244. Also *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.

M.: (3.24) Are there any other sun worshippers in India? Are there differences between them and the Śākdvīpīyas?

Mr. S.: (3.32) Śākdvīpīyas brought to India sun cult. They were the first to build in India Sūrya *mandirs*; then they left and other worshippers took their place. Other priests do the worshipping part. The *mantras* are the same and they do *pūjā* in the same way. They serve water to the un.

Mr. S.'s wife: (4.01) It is scientifically proved, that looking at Lord sun for three to four minutes is good for health. When the sun rises, we can look straight to it. We also teach our children to

look at it. Then, during the day, you can look at it with your hands like this.. Crossed fingers. This is very important for health, very good for eyes.

M.: (4.26) Are there differences in the practices of Śākdvīpīyas coming from different parts of India?

Mr. S.: (4.37) There are differences in food and language. And names. For example, 'Pāṇḍe' is a typical surname of Bihār and Uttar Pradesh.

M.: (4.51) Are there any personalities in the history of your community?

Mr. S.'s wife: (5.02) Here is written the story of Parthdhwan (?). He was a Śākdvīpīya. There was a time in which people wanted to go and live in *Sūrya-loka*. Parthdhwan longed to enter Lord Sūrya's world, too. For this reason, he practiced austerities for 300 years. The sun, satisfied with his worship, closed his eyes and suddenly seven Brahmins came out, who could perform perfectly. Each one had two daughters and two sons. This story is told in *Sāmbapurāṇa*, chapter 38. Then, Sūryadvij.

Mr. S.: (5.48) We have also a very important poet. Now he is very old, 85 years old. He is from Udaipur. Śīlva jī. He writes poetry about Lord Sūrya in Sanskrit.

*[They showed me the paper with the poem Śrī Sūryāṣṭakam, by Śīlavrata Sharma 'Śīl']*

Mr. S.'s wife: (7.27) Then there was Viśvamitr, who went to Australia and started the community over there.

M.: (7.36) Are there any Śākdvīpīya communities outside India?

Mr. S.'s wife: (7.42) Yes. In Australia, in America and also Mongolia. I have read that probably 'Mongolia' [*mong 'gouliə*] was named like that after 'Mag'.

...

*Mr. Shakdweepiya shows me his book, in which he collected the names and addresses of all the Śākdvīpīyas living in Rājasthān.*

Mr. S.: (11.23) You see, I went to ring to the doors ... And I have collected all the names of the Śākdvīpīyas. Only in the Mārvāṛ and in the Mevāṛ regions there are four-hundred families of Śākdvīpīyas. Vyās is one typical surname ... and then Sharma, Maharshi, Pande, Bhojak, Sevak, Mishra<sup>836</sup>. They are different according to the state.

Mr. S.'s wife: (11.51) You asked about the personalities ... Here they are written. There was Mahāṛṣi Vasiṭ, who was son of Lord sun. Then Cāṇakya, Varhāhamihir, Mahākāvi Magh, Mahākāvi Vrand, Mongol Pāṇḍi ... Do you know him? He was a freedom fighter. He was part

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<sup>836</sup> These are written in their English spelling.

of the army but he decided to rebel to the fact that they used pigs and cows grass for the guns. After having left the army, he became a freedom fighter. And then Maharaja Sindh Badhur.

...

M.: (15.06) Do you have any other practice? I mean, ritual practices ... For example, in ancient times, did the priests cover their mouths while reciting or did they hold something in their hands?

Mr. S.'s wife: (15.21) No, they didn't. According to my knowledge, only Jains cover their mouths in India.

...

M.: (17.18) Do you have a system of *gotras* and *purs*, isn't it?

Mr. S.'s wife: (17.23) Yes. We have 16 *gotras* coming from 16 different priests. We are part of the *haṭīla gotra*, because my husband belongs to it. Generally in marriages the bride becomes part of the husband's *gotra*.

*At the end of the interview, Mr. Shakdweepiya asked me to speak for a few minutes about my studies and research on the Śākdvīpīyas, and he filmed me in order to show my work to the community.*

## DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Mr. Chetan Shakdweepiya

GENDER: Male

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Udaipur, Rājasthān

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 23 October

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: 44e Panchwati, Udaipur, Rājasthān

*His wife, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded, took an active part in our talk.*

## INTERVIEW 4

*On 1 November, Mr. Devraj Sharma, President of the Śākdvīpīya community in Jodhpur, came to visit me at the place where I was staying. He was accompanied by an old man, Mr. L. N. Sharma, an eminent member of the community. Unfortunately, none of them spoke good English, so the interview was carried out mainly in Hindī.*

M.: (0.04) So, is there a big community of Śākdvīpī here in Jodhpur?

Mr. D.: (0.12) Yes. I'm the president of the Śākdvīpī community.

M.: (0.17) Ok.

Mr. D.: (0.19) We are 8% from the community.

M.: (0.25) Ok, I see. Are there, of course, many other communities, in India, of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas?

Mr. D.: (0.34) Mmmm ... [He moves his head in assent.]

M.: (0.36) Yes ... They are all over India, but especially in Rājasthān and Bihār. Can you tell me why your communities are especially in Rājasthān and Bihār?

Mr. D.: (0.55) Why our community is in Rājasthān?

M.: (1.03) Yes, yes.. Why are there so many Śākdvīpīya people in Rājasthān?

Mr. L: (1.15) This is a question? ...yes. Śākdvīpī.. It is a word, Śākdvīp. Listen, I would tell you. Your question was about the Brāhmaṇs. Śākdvīpīyas are Brāhmaṇs. We are Brāhmaṇs..now..We Śākdvīpī. Very well. But we have concept about Śākdvīp ... Śākdvīpīya. Next question.

Mr. D.: (2.11) What is the meaning of Śākdvīpīya..

Mr. D.: (2.18) You don't know what is Śākdvīpī?

M.: (2.23) Maybe it's because you come from Śākdvīp?

[They speak Hindī to each other.]

Mr. D.: (2.39) You are also in Śākdvīpī?

M.: (2.41) Me? No, no, no ... I am Italian ...

Mr. D.: (2.51) You want to research in Śākdvīpī Brāhmaṇ Samāj, it's that.

[I tell them about my academic studies: I explain the purpose of my research and the aim of the interview to them. Mr. L. asks me how I came to learn about the topic, and then about my Ph.D., my professors and my university. During 'my' interview, the two men speak Hindī to each other.]

Mr. L.: (7.20) Now, we are the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇs [*with a solemn inflection in his voice, nearly theatrical*]. Now ... अच्छ ... Purāṇs are ... about the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇs. But ... I do not like the Purāṇs' literature, I do not. Because the Purāṇs are written in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.

M.: (8.21) Yes, quite late texts ...

Mr. L.: (8.29) According to literature, India had ancient civilization, ancient culture.

M.: (8.41) Mmm, yes, definitely.

Mr. L.: (8.49) तो ... When these are born ... First India personality, Ṛṣi ... called Ṛṣisss [he again assumes the theatrical inflection]. They thoughts, worships about Brāhm.

M.: (9.27) Yes, sure.

Mr. L.: (9.34) Who did anciently base his life in god Brāhm? ... Because Brāhmaṇs. Brāhm plus '-an' is Brāhmaṇ. Past we were Brāhmaṇs... we are Ṛṣisss.

Mr. D.: (10.06) Are Ṛṣis born from god? Because I think... [*He switches to Hindī. They talk to each other.*]

Mr. L.: (11.15) ब्राह्मणास्मि [Sanskrit] ... मग ब्राह्मण अस्मि | [*He repeats in Hindī that they are Ṛṣis and that Purāṇas are not reliable texts.*]

M.: (13.55) Ok, yes ... More or less ... I got it.

L.: (14.00) Answer?

M.: (14.02) Yes...

L.: (14.06) Next question.

M.: (14.09) Where is Śākadvīp? I know the legend about the rising of all *dvīpas*, but where was it?

Mr. D.: (14.25) Where is the born from Śākadvīpi.

L.: (14.32)<sup>837</sup> अच्छ... (*He laughs*) अरे यार ! हमारे हिंदुस्तान, भारत में भनवत व्यवस्थ नहीं थी, राजस्थान में ब्राह्मण शक्ति क्यों है, अभग क्यों है, मानवता व्यवस्था ना होने की वजह से पहाँ पर ब्राह्मण शक्ति का पूर्ण हुआ । शक्ति का नाक से ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य, शुद्र थर भागों में बारी गई । साथ में दूसरे देवता की आपे शिव, गणेश, माँ क्य देव में सूर्य आता है । दूसरे तरफ से सूर्य की और चले सोर, शिव की और चले सैन सेम्प्रदाप बना जैन की और चले जैन सेम्प्रदाप

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<sup>837</sup> Mrs Narinder Kaur helped me with the transcription.

बना बोध की और चले बोधीक बना । वो राजाओं का राज क्या । दिव्य ब्राह्मण की और चले । सूर्य को हम नमसकार करते हैं जल चढ़ाते हैं और पूजा करते हैं, सेवा में भग्ने से सेवक भोजन का गृहण करता है वौ भोजक है उत्पतीत दूई । पूर्णओं में लिखा है जो भक्ति करें उसे परलोक प्राप्त होता है, उसे मुक्ति प्राप्त होता है, भक्ति करने से आत्मा स्वध होती है, मुक्ति प्राप्त होती है । इस मुक्ति हम उधार कहते हैं मोहक कहते हैं । वो आपको भक्ति की तपस्या करने से कल प्राप्त होता है फल पकता है । भक्ति को किसी के खनों पीने की चिंता नहीं, स्त्री पूरण की चिंता नहीं । स्त्री पूर्ष मैभून से एक दूसरे में चले जाते हैं । कूराणों में उसको साफ-लिखा है। उसी ऋषि की हम सेतान है । पूराणों वाला बूम्ह का राजा<sup>w</sup> था राजाओं का राज प्रकृति दूआर निपत था । जिसमें सूर्य वेषी सूर्य की भक्ति ओर चंद्र वेषी चंद्रमा की उपासना करत थे । जुसमें तीन बातें थीं । [He talks about Purāṇas.]

(22.31) 1. ज्योतिष 2. भूज ब्रह्मण 3. (अभिचार) ब्रह्मण ब्रह्मण पूर्णों में भक्ति को भक्ति समझा ही नहीं । ज्योतिष में जो मृह चमकते हैं जन्म थे गृहों को प्रमाब पड़ता है जन्म कुन्डभी बनती है किताब बनती है ज्योतिष विद्या बनती है । ये हमारी ये कृपा हैं ।

(24.06) दूसरी विद्या में हमारे भक्षण है शास्त्र में कई किसमें है 32 ब्रह्मण है आपने एक ब्रह्मण को पकड़ा तीसरे में अलग पैगेम्बर बैठे हैं, थूसू हो, मोहम्मद साहिब हो, जैन हो । जाति में बर गम है सारे हमारे पूत्र है हमारे सेवक ब्रह्मण है, ईश्वर की सेवा, सूर्य की सेवा, हर ब्रह्मण हर में होती है । कोई भी धर्म पा पेथ अपने-अपने ईषर की सेवा भविन्त करतो हैं तो भिधी आती है सभी के जीवन में अभयार हेता है हिंदू धर्म में कृष्ण दूर है होने का भाव विद्या होती है । ईसान अपने लक्ष्य की ओर जाता है उसका उपयोग सही नहीं किपा तो अपने सूख के लिए किपा । तो उसका पूर्ण जन्म हो जाता है, आप इटली में हैं तो आप इटलीपन है अमेरिका वाला अमेरिकन है मैं भारत का भारतिय हूँ, हर ईसान अपना कर्म करता है इस संसार में अच्छा भी बुरा भी आप मेरी हम 83 साल की हैं । I am 83 years old, today.

M.: (29.12) Today?

Mr. L.: (29.14) हाँ ! Today. ते ... मुझे खुशी है कि आप पहा भारत में आ कर मुझे ब्रह्मण से वारतालाप कर रही हैं । मैं सूर्य का प्रतिलिंगी दुँ उपसना करता दुँ । हमारी षिशदरी पा दूसरी षिशदरी में क्या फर्क है आपका सवाल है ।

Mr. D.: (29.42) Are you satisfied with the subject? Any more questions?

M.: (29.49) Yes, yes. One short question please. Are you the only sun-worshippers in India? Or not? Of course... You worship the sun as the main god, no? Are you the only sun-worshippers in India? I think there are other people who worship the sun, like you do. But in what are you different?

[They speak to each other.]

Mr. L.: (31.07) अरे यार ! बोध, जैन, इस्लाम, सभ व्यक्ति है बोध का बोधिक धर्म वाला, सूर्य का सूर्पबंधी, जैन का जैनी, इस्लाम का ईसा सब ही व्यक्ति है । सूर्य की अराधना करने वाले सूर्य के पूत्र हैं । सेस्कृत का श्लोक है ।

मरा ब्राह्मणा भूषण ।

सादगी भी ब्राह्मण ॥

सादगी पसंद ब्राह्मण है प्यार काला है, प्यार चाहता है, प्यार बारता है । सारे मेरे बहने-भई हैं । प्यार पर विश्वास रखने वाले हैं ।

इस्लाम धर्म मार-धाड़ करता है । लेकिन ब्राह्मण धर्म में मेरे लिए सब को माँ-बहन-भाई का रिश्ता दिपा जाता है आप मेरी माँ हैं ।

बाकी ये सेसार है इसी तरह चलता है । चलता रहेगा । कई धर्म, कई जात, कई पेथ जो है भारत में । जो देवी देवताओं के बल पर प्रार्थना करने से चल रहे हैं हर धर्म आपने धर्म में आस्था रखता है प्रार्थना करता है । चार धर्म ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य, शुद्र में बारा है है ब्राह्मण धर्म । ईश्वर की सेवा सूर्य की सेवा हमारे पूत्र सूर्य पूत्र और हम सूर्य के पूत्र हैं ।

आप इस अक्षित जो खोज कर रही हैं आप भी सुबह-4-5 बजे उढ़कर उपासना कशे प्रार्थना कशे ईषर को माना कश । गुरु की साथना से गुरु मेरे साहमने हैं मैं उसकी अराधना में भीन हो गपा है उनकी चेतना मूँझे आ गई ।

*[After the interview, Mr. L. asked me if I wanted to give a contribution for the community.]*

## DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Laxmi Narayan Sharma

GENDER: Male

AGE: 83

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Jodhpur, Rājasthān

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 1 November 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: Royal Heritage Guest House, Jodhpur, Rājasthān

*During the interview, Mr. Devraj Sharma was also present.*

## INTERVIEW 5

*I was invited to visit the place in Bīkāner where, since 2010, the magazine Brahmāṇḍ Cetnā - ब्रह्माण्ड चेतना (<https://www.facebook.com/sbchetna>) has been edited by Dr. Bharti Bhojak.*

*She obtained her Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics, but being part of the community, she became more and more interested in its history, and subsequently founded this international magazine. She and her husband, Prof. Kharanshu Bhojak, introduced me to the Śākdvīpīya community in Bīkāner.*

Dr. B.: (0.00) I can call my husband if you want to know something about Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs ... He will tell you something about Āyurveda.

M.: (0.18) Yes, sure, but later, if you don't mind. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the history of the community. Are there other Śākdvīpīya communities all over India, I can imagine ...

Dr. B.: (0.41) Yes, but it basically from Magadh. In Purāṇs there is written that Śākdvīpīya community was ... Kṛṣṇa's son Sāṁ brought them from Śākdvīp. Then he made a temple of sun in Multān. You know it? I read in the Purāṇs all these things. And ... he made a temple for them, in Multān. Ok? And then, he decided that Śākdvīpī community Brāhmaṇas are the sons of sun. So they have the right to pray sun. They are mainly ... today their work is mainly to pray sun ... and we have learnt very well how to pray sun.

M.: (2.14) Are you the only sun worshippers in India?

Dr. B.: (2.17) Yes, we are the only sun worshippers. And for this only Sāṁ brought us from Śākdvīp.

M.: (2.25) And where was Śākdvīp?

Dr. B.: (2.29) It's very ... It's not ... I do not know exactly where is Śākdvīp. There are some theories about that, it's near Iran ... It's near ... Śākdvīp ... I learned in ... Atlantic Sagar. Exactly I don't know where ... Exactly I am not having any proof of this, from where we have come.

M.: (3.03) Ok. But the first community, the first Śākdvīpīyas, were brought to Magadh ...

Dr. B.: (3.11) No, brought to Multān. And from there they spread all over India. Mainly their start was in Bihār-Magadh ... and some in Rājasthān, in Tamil Nadu ...

M.: (3.33) Also Tamil Nadu?

Dr. B.: (3.35) Right, but very little. Population rise Bīkāner.. In Bīkāner Śākdvīpīya community extent is about 25 thousand. In Rājasthān we have an extent of a lakh persons, in Rājasthān. But all over India, maximum extent is in Bīkāner, and in Bihār-Magadh. And in Rāmcī<sup>838</sup>. But in Rājasthān, also Śākdvīpīya community, they are priests only, they are not well educated.

M.: (4.25) Ah, that's a good point to discuss. So, from a social point of view ...

Dr. B.: (4.31) Social point of view, yes, they are having a lack of education, and I think in Rājasthān we can count Śākdvīpīya doctors, we can count Śākdvīpīya engineers, on the tips ... they're less. But in Bihār, they are well educated. Reason of that is that all these Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas are not having so much education. They are very simple persons. And they don't want that somebody gives them some money. How can I tell you that ... They are having not so money. They are just priests, only worship, and they realized that we should not take any money from our ... ehm ...

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<sup>838</sup> This is the capital city of Jārkhaṇḍa.

M.: (6.00) Yes, ok, that's a very interesting point. Many priests cannot accept money.<sup>839</sup>

Dr. B.: (6.10) No, no, they do not accept money. They are not beggars. They are not beggars, like they will not say 'Give me some money', they will not say you. And they are not having so much knowledge, because there is a problem of education, the main problem is their education. In this whole Bīkāner, you can count five professors are only there, in colleges, five professors, one of them is in Jodhpur, two ladies are in Jodhpur, my husband is one of the professors. He is in Dungar College, and Dungar College is largest college in Bīkāner region. Its extent is 10 thousands students, 10 thousands students are studying there, and only one professor from the community is there. The problem is education.

M.: (7.35) But are they (the priests) learned in your sacred texts, in your rituals, *pūjā* ...

Dr. B.: (7.44) No, no ... *Her mobile rings*.

M.: (7.58) ... I don't know exactly how the *pūjā* is carried on, which are your rituals ...

Dr. B.: (8.08) We look at the sun, then we offer water, and after that, we pray with our *mantra*, with a *mantra*.

M.: (8.23) And this *mantra*, where it does come from?

Dr. B.: (8.26) From *Vedas*.

M.: (8.28) Of course, they are the sacred texts of Hinduism. But do you have also ... [*any other reference text?*]

Dr. B.: (8.37) We are worshippers of the sun, we pray it, that 'You are God', or ... *Her mobile rings*.

M.: (8.50) ... so you only worship sun ...

Dr. B.: (8.54) Sun. That's why our ancestors were that persons, means Āyurvedic doctors.

M.: (9.03) Yes, that's a very interesting point.

Dr. B.: (9.07) Our ancestors were doctors and we learned how to make medicines with the use of some leaves. And before one-thousand year we can say that all community members, all community population was spread all over India, then they are not doing really anything, they have fallen down all these things, and Āyurved doctors are limited nowadays. One or two know these things. But our ancestors were perfect doctors, Āyurved doctors.

M.: (10.02) So you had also great personalities in the past.

Dr. B.: (10.11) Yes ... one article is this [*she shows me one issue of the magazine*], Varāhamihir. This is professor Panḍe, associated with this group. He is in Benares, he is head of Department

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<sup>839</sup> I was referring particularly to the fact that, in the Purāṇic texts, the Bhojakas are exonerated from the charge of being *devalakas*, fallen priests who desire money. An accusation was probably made against the Bhojakas in ancient times, and they had to redeem themselves.

at Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi. And he wrote about Varāhamihir. This is professor Sudhīndra Mohan Mishra, in Devendra Vihar. He is a chemistry professor, but he is writing about our ancestors. And he wrote about Varāhamihir and his calculations about sun, movement of sun. He wrote a very good article. He is a very scholar person. He is saying that Varāhamihir was part of our community. But some others are claiming he was not from our community. We don't have evidence to prove it.

*[We chatted about non-relevant topics for some minutes.]*

Dr. B.: (13.09) I got my Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics, and I was interested in astronomy; and I have learned about Varāhamihir from that paper. And Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs are also very good astrologers, they have a very good knowledge of astrology.

Many things are written in these books. *[She shows me all the issues of their magazine.]* This ... You went also to Jodhpur. If you go from Jodhpur to Udaipur, in the way you will get Rāṇakpur. This is the sun temple of Rāṇakpur. There are many articles about sun temples. This is Sūrya Mandir, and the priest of this temple is also Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. This is temple, this is stadium; in festival time, people used to sit here and sun rose always from here. And ...

*[Some people entered the room.]*

Dr. B.: (16.48) There are many temples which are Śākdvīpīya temples ...

M.: (16.51) Is the temple of Konārak important for your community?

Dr. B.: (16.55) It was, it is ancient temple. It is not active any more.

*Dr. Bharti Bhojak's husband enters the room with his Ph.D. students, and shows me a short presentation on the topic that they are working on. It deals with the relation between ancient literature and the chemical and biological phenomena of nature: the link between reality and its explanation through ancient legends. In particular, he is presently working on the relation between food, plants and medicine.*

[...]

*Particularly interesting is the story of Barbarik:*

Prof. K.: (30.0) Do you know about *Mahābhārata*? Do you know about *Gītā*? You know that the fight, or the real war, was between Pañḍavas and Kauravas. At the time, Kṛṣṇa was there and we believe he delivered the message of the *Gītā*. So, what happened ... There was a person known as Barbarik. This Barbarik. Barbarik was a unique character in the *Mahābhārata*. He studied the ancient literature, he was learned this person. He was the grandson of Bhīm, you know him? Bhīm and his wife, Hidimbā. Their son was Ghaṭotkac, and he was the son of Ghaṭotkac. So he was the son of the son, the grandson of Bhīm. He went for typical training. First by her grandmother, Hidimbā, she was born *rakṣas*. So what is the story? The story is that

after Hidimbā was able to teach him a lot of things within 9 months, at 49 he started and he could able to finish by 50 years. Then he asked some other priests and some other teachers, he completed. Finally Hidimbā said 'Nobody can teach you, other than Śrī Kṛṣṇa. So go to Kṛṣṇa.' Kṛṣṇa said 'Now I don't have time to teach you. But I accept you as my student, but I tell you the name of the teacher you going, and where from.' So he went to Assam, that is in the North-east part of India. So what happened there? The teacher name was Nija Sid Singh. Nija Sid Singh taught him different kinds of chemical weapons and different kinds of Āyurvedic treatments. This is what he wanted to teach. So what was the Āyurvedic treatment? He went for the weapon of Brahmputra. And Nija Sid Singh said that 'When you have completed your training, you would be able to destroy.' So what was his capacity in knowledge? By the bless of Cāṇakya Devī and of Nija Sid Singh, he was able to get three weapons. Now you know, one very interesting thing for you, Nija Sid Singh was not Brāhmaṇ. Sorry, Nija Sid Singh was a Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇ. But Cāṇakya Devī not Brāhmaṇ. She was from the family tree which is continued in the tales, vegetables and like this. Barbarik, he was also not from the vegetables, he was from the family of Bhīm. That way combination starts. And Cāṇakya Devī blessed him from three different types of weapons. First weapon, he can target. He can target at the same time more than one lakh, one million, one billion enemies; he will just target. Then, by using the second weapon, he can destroy enemies. Then the use of the third weapon, he can regenerate, if he wants. This are the story. So after that he was having so much power that comes from that arrows, he can target one billion, one million, so, and then ha can destroy, if he wants, he can regenerate. He was the grandson of Bhīm. Then *Mahābhārata* started. He came to Kurukṣetra. He has come, and he could destroy one billion enemies at the same time. Pañḍavas were very happy. But at the same time, Kṛṣṇa was very very sad and unhappy. The thing is that Nija Sid Singh was a Brāhmaṇ, a Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇ. He asked him to give his *gurudakṣiṇa*<sup>840</sup> as he will not use these weapons against the Bhūja (?) (36.00) side. He will fight always from the Bhūja (?) side. Soooo interesting. Now if he starts on one corner, then first the 90% are dead, 10 % will live, on that way the Pañḍavas will be stronger side, the other will be the weaker side. So what will be happened? He will start fighting from the Kaurava side. The next day, from Pañḍava side. The very next day, again from the Kaurava side. This wanted Kṛṣṇa. तो he said that 'If you will do like this, then you last living with persons who are alive, no other being. Because he was under the blessing of this weapon. Then what happened? Kṛṣṇa said 'Once you have considered me as *guru*, as teacher, now give me the *gurudakṣiṇa*.' He said

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<sup>840</sup> I.e., a fee for the *guru* after a period of study.

that 'When Kṛṣṇa is the *guru* and I am the teacher, what should I give? How can I be devoted to Kṛṣṇa?' तो Kṛṣṇa said that 'Give me your own head.' तो he said that 'Kṛṣṇa is *guru*, I am the student. And what lesser than head I can give? I should give more than that'. So he cut off his head and served it in front of Kṛṣṇa. Then Kṛṣṇa blessed him and said that "You will be considered always, even after five-thousands years, devotee in me and you will be known as Har-puṣanti.' That is the temple in here. And in Rājasthān it is one of the biggest temples of this. [...]

(39.05) He had three weapons: one was for targeting, other one for destroying, and third weapon was for regeneration. One thing I left: Kṛṣṇa asked him, and said 'Show me' and he took him to a *pīpal* tree. And he said that 'Destroy all the leaves of *pīpal* tree with one arrow' He said that 'Ok. First target, then destroy' [...].

(41.30) Now, Āyurvedic persons prepare their medicines with such kind of things. [...] But first part of the treatment is target only the ill part, like the leaves of the *pīpal* tree. Then destroy only this and if anyhow there is destroy of the regular cells, the third part must be regenerating. Then we have complete treatment. Such kind of treatment comes from the ancient system. [...]

*They gather many members of the community and let me perform pūjā for the sun god at sunset.*

M.: How do you perform *pūjā*?

Dr. B.: We offer water to the sun god.

M.: Do you also have to look at him?

Dr. B.: Yes, early morning we look at the sun. It is very good for eyes. We do *pūjā* twice a day, we honour the sun at early morning and at sunset, the two turning points ...

Prof. K.: Do you know why Lord sun has seven horses? They are the colours of the rainbow. You see? Once again a natural reason for a religious matter.

*They also honour me with speeches and gifts.*

*Later, during dinner.*

Me: So, Mags and Bhojaks are considered Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs ... Are there any differences between them?

Dr. B.: Yes, we are all Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs. Well, we are Bhojak. There are 25 rules that only Bhojak people must follow.

M.: And why are you called Bhojak?

Dr.B.: What do you think?

M.: Maybe because the Bhojaks feeds the sun god? From Sanskrit root *bhuj-* ...

Dr. B: No, no. We are called Bhojaks not because we feed the god. There is another story, I will send you the paper. The name is related to the great King Bhoja. Also Sevaks have their own story. In Jaina temples, only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner, there were no priests; so Śākadvīpīya priests, who are specialized in worshipping, all over the world, went there and did the *pūjā*. From that moment on, they were called Sevak, because they served the god at the temple. But this surname could sound derogatory, like servants, so people preferred not to adopt this name. Sevak are present only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner. In Rājasthān many people have decided to adopt directly the name Śākadvīpīya.

...

In Rājasthān Śākadvīpīya used to be very learned persons, especially doctors. Nowadays there are very few learned people: they mostly look after temples. But they don't take any money. Real Magis do not ask for money; they cannot accept it. They just take care of the temple. In Bihār they are mostly learned people. There are also different rules with food: in Rājasthān we are strictly vegetarian and we do not eat garlic nor onion; they are *tamasic* food according to Āyurveda.

[...]

M.: May I ask you one last question? What are *purs*? Because I found this term, but I do not know, what it means.

Dr. B.: *Purs* are like branches of the tree. I have an article about *gotrs* and *purs*. They are subdivisions of our community. *Gotrs* are also very important for marriages. Now that I am married, I am part of my husband's *gotr*, *muṇḍara*. We cannot marry in the same *gotr*. Even if we are both Bhojak, we were part of different *gotrs*.

### ***Addendum on the avyaṅga***

*I was visiting the Kund Sagar mandir, whose priest is a Śākadvīpīya belonging to a family who has taken care of the temple for 500 years; Prof. K. was showing me the typical red and yellow dress of the Brahmins, pointing out the sacred thread, when he added that Śākadvīpīyas generally wear another girdle, the avyaṅga.*

M.: (0.00) What is that *avyaṅga* you mentioned before?

Prof. K.: (0.09) You know about *yajñobhogi* (?) Y. do you know? That is a symbol that you have completed your *yajñobhogi*. *Yajñobhogi* means that in the ancient system when the student completes his education... [he speaks Hindi with his wife, but I cannot hear what they say] ...

when he starts his education, then there is a process of *mantra*; so once *mantra* has been completed, it means now you are eligible to study. Because whatever we do, we do in front of gods. (1.02) तो... Now once we have the binding of the *yajñobhogi* it means 'Now I am going to learn the things and I really use these things for the benefit of mankind'. This is the glory of the *yajñobhogi*. But *yajñobhogi* can be act anytime. From your birth to death you can do *yajñobhogi* at any time. - Dr. B: It is the symbol of education. – Prof. K: Mostly people do it before marriage. Before marriage it is essential; you cannot get married without *yajñobhogi*. – Dr. B: Śākdvīpīya Brahmanas. – Prof. K: In every Brāhmaṇa. In very Brāhmaṇa the *yajñobhogi* is essential, even not in Brāhmaṇas, in other communities also, Rājputs, and others, they are also having the *yajñobhogi*. But *avyaṅga* is found only in the Śākdvīpīya community. (2.00) What is the difference between *avyaṅga* and *yajñobhogi*? *Avyāṅga* now is the point that now scientifically as well as biologically the kid brings as develops. This is why *avyaṅg-saṃskār* has a fixed date. It is the eighth year of the child. *Avyāṅga* is always done in the eighth year. Once you have completed the eighth year, the *avyaṅga* is done, but this was only in the ancient times. Now very few people are worried about that, even the Śākdvīpīyas today are not worried about that. So they are not going for that. And secondly, *avyaṅga* is a hidden *saṃskār*; you are really not going for the party, or for that, but the *yajñobhogi* you use party, you celebrate it. But *avyaṅga* is only between the kid and the sun. (3:17) The kid and the sun, only that two celebrate. And thirdly is that *avyaṅga*, when we get ten ... around their waist, when they are ten around their waist. Then the *yajñobhogi* will be ... around this ... [He points out at his shoulder-breast.] And then definitely there are mantras. Mantras, you have to know them from Sanskrit.

M.: (3.55) Yes ... Actually, also the iconography of the sun god, especially between 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries ... also the sun wears *avyaṅga*.

Prof. K.: (4.16) Yes, yes ...

M.: (4.18) And maybe *avyaṅga* is a word coming from Avestan, because people in Iran used to wear *aiwyāñhana* ...

Prof. K.: (4.35) Really? Śākdvīpīyas also use this. Can you repeat the word?

M.: (4.40) *A-i-w-y-ā-η-h-a-n-a*. The Magus used to wear this girdle, and other objects, while officiating..

Dr. B.: (5.02) It is possible that they are related.

Prof. K.: (5.05) Yes, it is possible.

## DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Dr. Bharti Bhojak

GENDER: Female

AGE: 45

EDUCATION / PROFESSION: Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics, maths teacher.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Bīkāner, Rājasthān

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 3 November 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: II-E-182 JNV Colony, Bīkāner, Rājasthān

NAME AND SURNAME: Prof. Kharanshu Bhojak

GENDER: Male

EDUCATION / PROFESSION: Professor of Chemistry at Dungar College, Bīkāner, Rājasthān

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Bīkāner, Rājasthān

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 3 November 2016 – 4 November 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: II-E-182 JNV Colony, Bīkāner, Rājasthān

## INTERVIEW 6

*In Patna, I had the opportunity to meet three of the oldest members of the Śākaldvīpi<sup>841</sup> family that hosted me; two of them belong to the third generation living in the house (they are the brothers of the oldest woman in the household—the grandmother—and the uncles of her daughter, who personally invited me), while the last one belongs to the previous generation, as he is the grandmother’s uncle. Unfortunately, they were introduced to me only in terms of their kin relations, not by their names. The situation was too informal to ask them to fill out the data card.*

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<sup>841</sup> Note that the spelling of the name of this group of Brāhmaṇas in Patna is apparently different from the spelling they have in Rājasthān.

## FIRST INTERLOCUTOR

*My chief interlocutor was the youngest of the three. I do not think he told me me his name (or I have completely forgotten it), and he did not want me to record him, nor could I take notes during our talk.*

\_: First, how did you get interested in this topic?

*I tell him about my studies and how I found out about the topic.*

\_: You know, the sun is the only visible god. That's why we worship him. And even if people do not worship him, he stays still.

M.: You are Śākaldvīpi. Which is the origin of the name?

\_: We anciently came from Śākdvip...

M.: And where was Śākdvip?

\_: It was probably somewhere in Iran. For this reason Śākaldvīpi communities have Iranian features which have maintained until nowadays.

M.: Which features?

\_: But you wanted to know about the legend. The story of Lord Kṛṣṇa's son Sām(b)<sup>842</sup>: the son looked very similar to the father, they had the same blood, the same DNA, the same appearance; that's why Kṛṣṇa's wives got confused. He cursed his son and Sām(b) contracted leprosy. Then Kṛṣṇa knew that in Śākdvīp there were very good doctors, and so he invited them to heal Sām(b). But they refused. So Kṛṣṇa cheated them: he sent Garuḍa to a field in which the children of these doctors used to play. The bird stayed there and then he flew away; sixteen children hung to Garuḍa's body and flew to Dvārakā with him. We don't know exactly what Garuḍa was; it could have been also a ship, for taking those people from Iran to India. Those sixteen children then married local girls and they settled first in Bihār, Gayā region, then to Jodhpur/Jaipur region and all over India. They gave names to sixteen *purs*. They are related to cities. It is said also that they gave names to the cities in relation to the parts of Garuḍa's body they were attached while flying to India.

M.: That's very interesting...so *purs* are related to the cities?

\_: Yes, to the cities in which those people settled.

M.: Excuse me, I have one last question: do young people know about this legend?

\_: That's a very interesting question. No, young people are not interested in these things. That's why many people, also belonging to the community, they don't know anything and their

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<sup>842</sup> From his pronunciation, it was not clear to me whether he pronounced the final *b*. If they pronounce 'Sām', it is very significant for the link with Iranian Sām. I have already discussed this topic in my M.A. thesis, *I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano*, and in PALLADINO 20??a.

information are not correct. For example, some believe that *purs* are 72, but they are 16, like the children who came to India.

### *SECOND INTERLOCUTOR*

M.: So, which is the difference between *purs* and *gotras*?

\_: The *purs* are related to cities, *gotras* to *gurus*. And if you want to know about the legend, 5-6 people flied to India from Śākdvīp, which was in Iran.

### *THIRD INTERLOCUTOR (the oldest one)*

*He asked me if I was able to speak Sanskrit and asked information about my family in Sanskrit. I did my best to reply.*

\_: I brought for you this numbers of the magazine *Magabandhu*; you can keep them, I hope they will be useful.

M.: Thank you very much.

## **DATA CARD**

GENDER: Male

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 1 December 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: Patna, Bihār

## **INTERVIEW 7**

*My host introduced me to a member of the community, Prof. Dr. Hrishikesh Misra. He is a professor at Patna University, and his most recent publication is about Tantrism and psychoanalysis. Due to an accident, he lost his sight and he is now completely blind.*

*First, he asked about my research and wanted to know my 'personal philosophy'. He told me about the Mahābhārata and Indian history, then finally moved to a Śākaldvīpi-related topic.*

Dr. M.: (10.13) They came from Śākdvīp ... that's why they are called Śākdvīpiya.

M.: (10.20) How many were the people who came from Śākdvīp?

Dr. M.: (10.27) 72 *purs*, like the 72 *brāhmaṇas* in the *Mahābhārata*.

...

Dr. M.: (12.07) Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas think that you cannot accept not even a drop of water when, for example, one helps you.

M.: (12.19) I have already heard about this refusal of goods ...

Dr. M.: (12.26) Not even a drop of water ...

...

(13.41) Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, contracted leprosy and so Kṛṣṇa sent Garuḍa to bring Brāhmaṇas from Śākdvīp to pay obeisance to the Lord sun. So leprosy was cured. The sun cured Sāmba.

M.: Yes, Lord sun healed Sāmba.

Dr. H.: (14.02) No, he didn't heal him, he cured him. The cure is permanent, the healing is not. Then Kṛṣṇa wanted to give the Brāhmaṇas 72 villages, but they didn't accept. 'We have not come here for something – only for satisfaction'. They didn't accept a single thing. Kṛṣṇa put some gold in apples and gave them to Garuḍa, so that he could not fly away and they had to stay. Then they settled in Orissa, Bengala, Rājasthān and Uttar Pradesh. But we are not considered Brahmins from a great part of Indian society ...

M.: (14.48) Why?

Dr. H.: (14.51) Because we are foreigners. And we are generally interested in Āyurveda, natural medicine.

M.: (15.01) Where do you think Śākdvīp was?

Dr. H.: (15.06) Probably somewhere in Iran or near Iran. Then Śāk island and other territories, like Azerbaijan, were conquered by Muslims.

...

(15.51) By the way Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas cannot accept anything for their actions, not even water. And they are also mentioned in the sixth book of *Mahābhārata*.

## DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Dr. Hrishikesh Misra

GENDER: Male

PROFESSION: English Professor at Patna University

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Patna, Bihār

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 2 December 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: His house in Patna, Bihār

## INTERVIEW 8

*I was introduced to the oldest member of the Śākaldvīpi community in Patna. Mr. Rangan Sūrived is 95 years old and he is a very learned man. He also gave me his own translation of the Bhagavadgītā into Hindī.*

...

Mr. R.: (1.13) In śradh (śraddha) pūjā<sup>843</sup> Śākaldvīpi Brahmins are very important. Generally the pūjā starts at midday and ends in the evening; a Śākaldvīpi is representative of the sun.

M.: (1.32) How many *purs* were there in ancient times?

Mr. R.: (1.38) There were 72 *purs*.

M.: (1.43) And why are you called Śākaldvīpi?

Mr. R.: (1.49) Because we came from Śākdvīp.

M.: (1.53) And where was Śākdvīp?

Mr. R.: (1.57) It was in Iran. Śākaldvīpi are also called Sūrya-ayu<sup>844</sup> Brāhmaṇas.

M.: (2.12) Which are your sacred books?

Mr. R.: (2.18) There are four *Vedas*. Śākaldvīpis had another one, but it was destroyed.

M.: (2.27) Which was its name?

Mr. R.: (2.30) We don't know.

...

(4.31) Śākaldvīpis are good doctors, good teachers and good astrologers. Many Brāhmaṇas decide to live on their own, but when Śākaldvīpis came, they were very friendly, they had families and built a good organization. Śākaldvīpis are not part of Sūrya family, but they are

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<sup>843</sup> The śradh (śraddha) pūjā is a ritual for the ancestors. It is generally performed by the eldest male member of the family, and food, clothes and sweets are given to the Brāhmaṇas, because it is believed that what Brāhmaṇas receive can reach the departed souls. Very important in this ritual is to avoid hastiness, control anger, and be full of piety while reciting mantras and prayers.

<sup>844</sup> I am not sure of the spelling of this word. He repeated it to me twice, but I am not sure that I understood the name correctly.

experts in Sūrya pūjā. And in ancient times the king had only Śākaldvīpis around him, no other *purohita*.

## **DATA CARD**

NAME AND SURNAME: Mr. Rangan Sūridev

GENDER: Male

AGE: 95

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Patna, Bihār

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 5 December 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: His house in Patna, Bihār

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